PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.

AND

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

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THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S S...

THE

LIFE

OF

DION.

SUMMARY.

Service done by the Academy to the Greeks in rearing Dion, and to the Romans in assisting the education of Brutus. General similarity between these two great men. Dionysius the Elder seizes the government of Syracuse: his partiality to Dion. Character of Dion. Advantages derived by him from his intercourse with Plato. Dionysius, exasperated by the bold truths of that philosopher, orders him to be sold as a slave. Dion's freedom with Dionysius. Dionysius' death. Offers made by Dion to his son. He is calumniated by the courtiers. His austerity displeasing to young Dionysius. He exhorts that prince to the study of philosophy, and by repeated importunities induces him to send for Plato to Sicily. Dion's enemies set up Philistus in opposition to him. Change effected by Plato in Dionysius. The courtiers succeed in rendering him suspicious of Dion, who is banished into Italy. Dionysius' affection for Plato, and for philosophy. Plato returns into Greece, and endeavours to soften Dion's severity of manners. Honours paid to Dion in Greece. Dionysius presses Plato to return into Sicily. Plato revisits Syracuse; is ill-used by Dionysius, re-demanded by Archytas, and sent home again. The tyrant compels Dion's wife to marry Timocrates. Dion determines to make war against him; and re-assures his forces, disheartened by the idea of being led into Sicily. Eclipse of the moon; how interpreted by the soothsayer Miltas. Violent storm during his voyage. He arrives in Sicily, and marches toward Syracuse, where he is joined by many bodies of troops. The principal Syracusans meet

him at the gates: Timocrates flies. Dion makes his public entry into the city, and is appointed prætor. Specious proposals of Dionysius to the Syracusans. He suddenly attacks the city, and is driven back with great loss. Dionysius' letter, tending to render Dion obnoxious to the citizens, and it's effect. The people appoint Heraclides his collegue, who enters into intrigues against him. Sosis' calumnious accusation of Dion. Philistus is taken by the Syracusans in an engagement, and barbarously put to death. Timæus censured for his reproaches, and Ephorus for his encomiums upon Philistus. Dionysius' escape. Dion is deprived of the command: leaves Syracuse, and is pursued by the citizens, whom he twice repulses. He goes to Leontium. Nypsius, Dionysius' admiral, takes Syracuse by surprise. They send for Dion: he sets off. The soldiers of Dionysius ravage the city. Dion reaches the gates, and conquers the enemy. His reply to his friends, who advise him to destroy Heraclides and Theodotes. He pardons the former, who is continued admiral, and forms new plots against him. They are reconciled. The mediation of Gæsylus the Spartan. Dionysius' son delivers up the citadel, and Dion recovers his wife. His generosity and moderation. Heraclides recommences his schemes, and Dion consents to his assassination. Callippus' conspiracy. Apparition. Death of Dion's only son. Callippus gives Dion's wife and sister the most solemn assurances of his fidelity. Dion is killed by the soldiers: his sister and wife imprisoned.

As we learn from Simonides, my dear Senecio, that the Trojans were by no means offended at the Corinthians for having joined the confederates in the Grecian war, because the family of Glaucus, their own ally, was originally of Corinth[1], so neither the Greeks nor the Romans have reason to complain of the Academy, which has been equally favourable to both. This will appear from the Lives of Brutus

[1] Hom. Il. vi. 152., &c., whence it appears that Glaucus was descended, through Bellerophon, from Sisyphus, who had formerly reigned in Ephyra, subsequently called Corinth. Aristotle, Rhet. i. 6., has preserved Simonides' line upon the subject.*

and Dion; for as one was the scholar of Plato, and the other educated in his principles, they came like wrestlers from the same palæstra, to engage in the severest conflicts. Both by their conduct, in which there was a striking similarity, confirmed that observation of their master, that "Power and fortune must concur with prudence and justice, to effect any thing great in a political capacity." But as Hippomachus the wrestler said, that he could distinguish his scholars at a distance, though they were only carrying meat from the market[2]; so the sentiments of those, that have had a polite education, must exercise an influence of the same kind upon their manners, and give a peculiar grace and propriety to their conduct.

Accident however, rather than design, gave similarity to the lives of these two illustrious men; and both were cut off by an untimely death, before they could carry the purposes, which they had pursued with so much labour, into execution. The most singular circumstance attending their death was, that both had a divine warning of it, in the appearance of a frightful spectre. There are indeed who affirm, that no man in his senses ever saw a spectre[3]: that they are the delusive visions of women and children, or of men whose intellects are affected by some distemper of the mind or some infirmity of the body, and who refer their absurd and ridiculous notions to divine inspiration. But if Dion and Brutus, men of firm and philosophic minds, whose understandings were not easily to be deluded or discomposed by any sudden apprehension, could pay so much credit to the appearance of spectres as to give an account of them to their friends, I see no

[2] A proof—and many such occur in Theophrastus, of the simplicity of ancient Grecian manners!*

[3] A very singular story, however, could be told upon this head by Generals S— and W—, both men of indisputable honour and spirit, and honourably distinguished by their exertions in their country's service.*

reason why we should depart from the opinion of the ancients—that men had their evil genii, who disturbed them with fears and distressed their virtue, lest by a steady and uniform pursuit of it they should hereafter obtain a happier allotment than themselves[4]. These things, however, I must refer to another opportunity; and in this twelfth book of parallel Lives, of which Dion and Brutus are the subjects, I shall begin with the more ancient.

After Dionysius the Elder had seized the government of Sicily *, he married the daughter of Hermocrates, a Syracusan. As the monarchic power however was yet but ill established, she had the misfortune to be so dreadfully abused in her person by an outrageous faction, that she put an end to her life. When Dionysius was confirmed in his government, he married two wives at the same time. One was Doris, a native of Locris; the other Aristomache, the daughter of Hipparinus, a principal person in Syracuse, who had been his collegue when he was first appointed general of the Sicilian forces. These wives, it is said, he married on the same day. It is not certain which he enjoyed first, but he was afterward most impartial in his attentions to them; for both attended him at his table, and alternately partook of his bed. As Doris had the disadvantage of being a foreigner, the Syracusans sought every method of obtaining the preference for their countrywoman; but it was more than equivalent to the disadvantage of the former, that she had the honour of giving Dionysius his eldest son. Aristomache on the contrary was for a long time barren, though the king was extremely desirous of having children by her, and even put Doris' mother to death, on a supposition that she had prevented her conception by potions.

[4] This is perfectly agreeable to the Platonic doctrine of the different orders and dispositions of the genii; and both Dion and Brutus were great enthusiasts in Platonism.

* B. C. 405.

Dion, the brother of Aristomache, was well received at court; not only upon his sister's account, but from the regard which Dionysius had for his merit and abilities: and that prince gave his treasurer an order to supply him with as much money as he wanted, but at the same time to keep an account of what he received.

But whatever the talents and virtues of Dion might originally have been, undoubtedly they received the happiest improvement under the auspices of Plato. Surely the gods, in mercy to mankind, sent that divine philosopher from Italy to Syracuse, that through the humane influence of his doctrine the spirit of liberty might once more revive, and the inhabitants of that country be rescued from tyranny[5].

Dion soon became the most distinguished of his scholars. To the fertility of his genius, and the excellence of his disposition, Plato himself has borne testimony[6], and he did the greatest honour to that testimony by his life. For though he had been educated in servile principles under a tyrant, though he had been familiarised to dependence on one hand, and to the indulgence of pomp and luxury as the supreme happiness on the other, yet he was no sooner acquainted with that philosophy which points out the road to virtue, than his whole soul caught the enthusiasm; and with the simplicity of a young man, who judges of the dispositions of others by his own, he concluded that Plato's lectures would have the same effect upon Dionysius: for this reason he solicited, and at length persuaded, the tyrant to hear him. When Plato was admitted, the discourse turned on virtue in general. Afterward, they came to fortitude in particular; and Plato made it appear, that tyrants have of all men the least pretence to

[5] Plato, in his seventh letter, says, 'When I explained the principles of philosophy and humanity to Dion, I little thought that I was insensibly opening a way to the subversion of tyranny.'

[6] Ibid.

that virtue. Justice was the next topic; when, on Plato's asserting the happiness of the just, and the wretched condition of the unjust, the tyrant was stung, and unable to answer his arguments, expressed his resentment against those, who seemed to listen to him with pleasure. At last he was extremely exasperated, and demanded of the philosopher, what business he had in Sicily? Plato answered, "That he came to seek an honest man." "It seems then," replied the tyrant, "that you "have lost your labour." Here, Dion hoped, his anger would have ended; but while Plato was hastening to be gone, he conveyed him on board a galley, in which Pollis the Lacedæmonian was returning to Greece. Dionysius urged Pollis either to put Plato to death in his passage, or at least to sell him as a slave: "For, according to his own maxim," said he, "this fellow cannot be miserable; a just "man, he says, must be happy in a state of slavery, "as well as in a state of liberty." Pollis therefore carried him to Ægina, and sold him there[7]. For the people of that place, being at war with the Athenians, had made a decree, that whatever Athenian was taken upon their coast should be sold.

Dion notwithstanding retained his interest with Dionysius, had considerable employments, and was sent embassador to Carthage. Dionysius entertained a high esteem for him, and he therefore permitted him to speak his sentiments with freedom. An instance of this we have in the retort, which he made on the tyrant's ridiculing the government of Gelo[8]: "Gelo," said Dionysius, "is *(Gelos)* the laughing-"stock of Sicily." While others admired and ap-

[7] For twenty pounds. (L.) The silence of Plato however upon this subject, in his Letters, seems to acquit Dionysius of the charge of having participated in this piece of villainy.*

[8] Gelo usurped the kingdom of Syracuse, B. C. 491; eleven years afterward beat at Himera the Carthaginians, who by attacking Sicily intended to make a diversion in favour of Xerxes; and dying B. C. 478, was succeeded by his brother Hiero, the friend of Pindar.*

plauded this witticism, Dion answered, "You obtained the crown by being trusted on Gelo's account, but no man will hereafter be trusted on yours." In fact, Gelo made monarchy seem the best of governments; whereas under Dionysius it appeared to be the worst. Dionysius had three children by Doris, and four by Aristomache, of whom two were daughters, Sophrosyne and Arete. Of these, the former was married to his eldest son Dionysius, the latter to his brother Thearides; and, after his death, to her uncle Dion. In Dionysius' last illness, Dion would have applied to him in behalf of the children of Aristomache, but the physicians were before-hand with him. They wished to ingratiate themselves with his successor; and when he asked for a sleeping dose, Timæus informs us, they gave him one so effectual, that he awoke no more[9].

When his son Dionysius came to the throne, in the first council that he held, Dion spoke with so much propriety upon the existing state of affairs, and the measures which ought to be taken, that the rest appeared to be mere children in understanding. By the freedom of his councils he strongly exposed the slavish principles of those who, through a timorous disingenuousness, recommended such measures as they thought would please their prince, rather than such as might advance his interest. But what alarmed them most was, the steps which he proposed to take in regard to the impending war with Carthage: for he offered either to go in person to Carthage, and negotiate an honourable peace with the Carthaginians; or, if the king were rather inclined for war, to fit out and maintain fifty galleys at his own expense.

With this magnificence of spirit Dionysius was delighted; but the courtiers feeling how little it made them appear, agreed that at all events Dion

[9] B. C. 368.

must be crushed, and in consequence spared no calumny that malice could suggest. They represented to the king, that he certainly meant to make himself master by sea, and thus to obtain the kingdom for his sister's children. There was moreover another, and an obvious cause of their hatred to him, in the reserve of his manners, and the sobriety of his life. They themselves led the young and ill-educated king through every species of debauchery, the shameless pandars to his wrong-directed passions. Yet while folly rioted, the rage of tyranny was dissolved in the ardour of youthful indulgences, as iron is softened in the fire; and the kindness and lenity, which the Sicilians could not expect from the virtue of their prince, they found in his infirmities. Thus the reins of that monarchy, which the Elder Dionysius had vainly called 'adamantine,' when he boasted that he had rivetted them on the state, gradually fell from the loose and dissolute hand that held them. This young prince, it is said, would continue the scene of intoxication for ninety days without intermission; during which time no sober person or conversation was admitted at his court, where all was drunkenness, and ribaldry, and buffoonery, and riot.

Their enmity to Dion, who had no taste for these empty enjoyments, was a thing of course; and, as he refused to partake with them in their vices, they resolved to strip him of his virtues. To these they gave the names of such vices, as are supposed in some degree to resemble them. His gravity of manners they called pride; his freedom of speech, insolence; his declining to join in their licentiousness, contempt[10]. It is true, there was a natural haughtiness in his deportment, and an asperity of an unsociable and almost inaccessible nature: hence it is

[10] *At nos virtutes ipsas invertimus, atque*
Sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. Probus quis
Nobiscum vivit? Multum est demissus homo, &c.
(Hor. Sat. I. iii. 55., &c.)*

not to be wondered at, that he found no ready admission to the ears of a young king, already spoiled by flattery; since many even of his own particular friends, who admired the integrity and generosity of his heart, could not but condemn those harsh forbidding manners, which were so ill adapted to civil intercourse: and Plato himself, upon writing to him some time afterward, warned him as it were by the spirit of prophecy, "To guard against that austerity, which is the companion of solitude [11]:" The necessity of the times, however, and the feeble state of the monarchy rendered it necessary for the king, though contrary to his inclination, to retain him in the highest appointments; and this Dion himself very well knew.

As he was willing to impute the irregularities of Dionysius to a bad education, he endeavoured to engage him in a course of liberal studies, and to give him a taste for those sciences, which have a tendency to moral improvement. By these means he hoped he should induce him to think of virtue without disgust, and at length to embrace it's precepts with pleasure. The young Dionysius was not naturally the worst of princes; but his father being apprehensive that, if his mind were improved by science and the conversation of virtuous men, he might at some time or other think of depriving him of his kingdom, kept him in close confinement; where, through ignorance and want of other employment, he amused himself with making little chariots, candlesticks, wooden chairs, and tables. His father indeed was so suspicious of all mankind, and so wretchedly timorous, that he would not suffer a barber to approach his head with a rasor, but had his hair singed off with a live coal by one of his own attendants [12]. Neither his brother nor his son were ever admitted into his chamber in their own

[11] See Vol. II. p. 192., not. (24.)

[12] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. V. 20. says, this office was performed by his daughters.*

clothes, but were first stripped and examined by the sentinels, and after that, were obliged to put on such clothes as were provided for them. When his brother Leptines was once describing the situation of a place, he took a spear from one of the guards to trace the plan, upon which Dionysius was extremely offended, and caused the soldier who had given up the weapon to be put to death. He was afraid, he said, of the sense and sagacity of his friends; because he knew, they must think it more eligible to govern, than to obey. He slew Marsyas, whom he had advanced to a considerable military command, merely because Marsyas had dreamed that he killed him; for he inferred, that this dream by night must have been occasioned by some similar suggestion, or conception of the day*. Yet even this timorous and suspicious wretch was offended with Plato, because he would not allow him to be the most valiant man in the world!

When Dion, as we have before observed, considered that the irregularities of young Dionysius were chiefly owing to his want of education, he exhorted him earnestly to apply himself to study; and by all means to send for Plato, the prince of philosophers, into Sicily: "Upon his arrival," said he, "apply "to him without loss of time. Conformed by his "precepts to that divine exemplar of beauty and "perfection, which called the universe from confu-"sion into order, you will secure at once your own "happiness, and that of your people. The obe-"dience, which they now render you through fear, "by your justice and moderation you will improve "into a principle of filial duty; and, from a ty-"rant, you will become a king. Fear, and force, "and fleets, and armies are not, as your father "called them, the 'adamantine' chains of govern-

* *Iago*. Nay, this was but his dream.
Othello. But this denoted a foregone conclusion:
'Tis a shrewd doubt, though it be but a dream.
(Othello, III. 3.)

"ment; but that attention, that affection, that re-
"spect, which justice and goodness ever draw after
"them. These are the milder, but at the same
"time the stronger, bonds of empire. Besides, it
"is surely a disgrace for a prince, who in all the
"circumstances of figure and appearance is distin-
"guished from the people, not to rise above them
"likewise in the superiority of his conversation and
"the cultivation of his mind, and to embellish the
"palace of his soul with royal furniture."

As Dion frequently solicited the king upon this subject, and occasionally repeated some of Plato's arguments, Dionysius conceived at length a violent inclination to hear him discourse. He therefore sent several letters of invitation to him at Athens, which were seconded by Dion's entreaties. The Pythagorean philosophers in Italy also concurred in desiring him to undertake the direction of this young prince, whose mind was misguided by power, and to reclaim him by his solid advice. Plato, as he himself owns[13], ashamed to be a philosopher merely in theory, and not in practice, and flattering himself that if he could rectify the mind of this ruling portion of Sicily, he might by the same means remedy the disorders of the whole island, yielded to their request.

The enemies of Dion, now fearing an alteration in Dionysius, advised him to recall from exile one Philistus (a man of deep learning[14], and well skilled in every thing relative to despotism) with a view of setting him up in opposition to Plato, and his philosophy. Philistus, from the beginning, had been a principal instrument in supporting the established monarchy, and kept the citadel, of which he was governor, a long time for that party. It is said, that he had a private commerce with the mother of the elder Dionysius, and that the tyrant himself was not ignorant of it. Be that as it may, Leptines,

[13] Lett. vii.

[14] For an account of this historian see II. 250., not. (29.)

who had two daughters by a married woman whom he had debauched, gave one of them to Philistus in marriage; but this having been done without consulting Dionysius, he was offended, imprisoned Leptines' mistress, and banished Philistus. The latter fled to his friends at Adria[15], where (it is probable) he composed the greatest part of his history; for he did not return to Sicily during that Dionysius' reign. After his death, as we have observed, Dion's enemies procured his recall. His arbitrary principles were well suited to their purpose, and he began to exercise them immediately upon his return.

At the same time, calumnies and impeachments against Dion were, as usual, brought to the king. He was accused of holding a private correspondence with Theodotes and Heraclides, for the subversion of the monarchy; and indeed it is probable that he conceived some hopes, from Plato's arrival, of lessening the excessive power of Dionysius, or at least of making him moderate and equitable in the use of it. Besides, if he continued obstinate and irreclaimable, he was determined to depose him, and restore the commonwealth to the Syracusans; for he preferred even the popular form of government to an absolute monarchy, where a well-regulated aristocracy could not be procured.

Such was the state of affairs, when Plato arrived in Sicily. At first, he was received with the greatest appearance of respect and kindness, and was conveyed from the coast in one of the king's most splendid chariots. Even Dionysius himself sacrificed to the gods, in acknowledgement of the happiness conferred upon his kingdom. The people, likewise, entertained the greatest hopes of a speedy reformation. They observed an unusual decorum in the court-banquets, and a sobriety in the conduct of the courtiers; while the king himself answered all, to whom he gave audience, with the utmost affa-

[15] In the Picene, *hod.* The March of Ancona.*

bility. The desire of learning, and the study of philosophy, became general; and the royal palace, it is said, was filled with the dust, in which the students describe their mathematical figures. Not long after this, at a solemn sacrifice in the citadel, when the herald prayed as usual for the long continuance of the government, Dionysius is reported to have cried, "How long will you continue to curse me?" This was an inexpressible mortification to Philistus and his party: "If Plato," said they, "has already effected such a change in the king, his influence in time will be irresistible."

They now no longer made their attack, on Dion separately, or in private; but united in exclaiming against him, as having fascinated the king by the delusions of eloquence and philosophy, with a view of inducing him voluntarily to resign the crown in favour of his sister's children. They represented it as a matter of the highest indignity, that after the whole force of the Athenians by sea and land had vainly invaded Sicily, and were vanquished and destroyed without so much as having been able to take Syracuse, they should now by means of one sophist overturn Dionysius' empire, prevail upon him to part with his guard of ten thousand spearmen, to give up a navy of four hundred galleys, and to disband an army of ten thousand horse, and many times that number of foot; in order to pursue an ideal happiness in the Academy, and amuse himself with theorems of geometry, while the substantial enjoyments of wealth and power were left to Dion and his nephews.

By means of these suggestions, Dion first incurred the suspicion, and soon afterward the open displeasure of Dionysius. A letter of his was likewise intercepted, and privately carried to the king. It was addressed to the Carthaginian agents, and directed them not to have their audience of the king concerning the conclusion of the peace, unless he himself were present, and then every thing should be

settled as they wished. Timæus informs us, that after Dionysius had shown this letter to Philistus, and consulted him upon it, he over-reached Dion by a pretence of reconciliation, and told him he was desirous their good understanding might be renewed. After this, as he was one day walking alone with him by the wall of the castle near the sea, he produced the letter, and accused him of having conspired with the Carthaginians against him. Upon his attempting to speak in his own defence, Dionysius refused to hear him; and having forced him on board a vessel, which lay there for the purpose, he commanded the sailors to set him ashore in Italy.

When this was publicly known, it was every where condemned as tyrannical and cruel. The court was in distress for the ladies of Dion's family; but the citizens received fresh courage from the event, hoping that the odium, which it would raise against Dionysius, and the general discontent that his government occasioned, might contribute to bring about a speedy revolution. Dionysius observed this with some anxiety, and thinking it necessary to pacify the women and the rest of Dion's friends, he told them that he was not gone into exile, but only sent out of the way for a time, lest his obstinacy should draw upon him a heavier punishment. He also allowed his friends two ships, that they might despatch to him in Peloponnesus as much of his treasure, and as many of his servants, as they should think fit; for Dion was a man of considerable property, and little inferior to the king in wealth or magnificence. The most valuable part of his effects, together with presents from the ladies and others of his acquaintance, his friends conveyed to him; and the splendour of his fortune gained him great respect among the Greeks. At the same time, they conceived a high idea of the power of the tyrant, when an exile from his kingdom could make such an appearance.

Dionysius now, under colour of kindness, removed

Plato into the citadel; but in reality to set a guard upon him, lest he should follow Dion, and proclaim to the world how injuriously he had been treated.

As wild beasts become tame and tractable by use, so the tyrant, by frequent conversation with the philosopher, began at last to entertain an affection for him: yet even that affection had something tyrannical in it; for he required of Plato, in return, that he should confine his regard and admiration exclusively to himself. On condition that he would prefer his friendship to that of Dion, he was willing to resign the whole administration into his hands. This extravagant attachment gave Plato no small trouble; for it was accompanied with petulance and jealousy, as the love which subsists between the different sexes has in a short period it's frequent quarrels and reconciliations. He expressed the strongest desire to become Plato's scholar, and to proceed in the study of philosophy; but he expressed it with reluctance in the presence of those, who sought to divert him from his purpose, and seemed as if he were in pursuit of something, of which he ought to be ashamed.

As a war broke out about this time, he found it necessary to dismiss Plato; but he promised him, before his departure, to recall Dion the ensuing summer. He did not however keep his promise, under pretence of the war; but he remitted to him the produce of his estate. At the same time, he desired Plato to accept his apology, assuring him that he would instantly send for Dion on the conclusion of the peace; and he entreated Dion himself in the mean while to remain quiet, and not say or do any thing, which might hurt his character among the Greeks. This Plato endeavoured to effect, by keeping Dion in the Academy in pursuit of philosophy.

At Athens, Dion lived with an acquaintance, whose name was Callippus. But a piece of pleasure-ground, which he purchased, he gave up on his

departure to Speusippus, with whom he had most usually conversed. Speusippus (as Timon, in his poems called Sylli[16], sarcastically informs us) was a facetious companion, and had an apt turn for raillery; and Plato was desirous, that Dion's severity of manners might be softened by the pleasantry of his conversation. When Plato exhibited a chorus of boys at Athens[17], Dion took upon himself the management, and defrayed the expense. Plato was solicitous, that this munificence might procure him popularity; and, upon that account, he readily gave up the honour of conducting the affair himself.

Dion likewise visited other cities, and conversed with the principal statesmen, by whom he was publicly entertained. In his manners there was now no longer any thing pompous or affected, nothing that savoured of the dissolute luxury of a tyrant's court. His behaviour was modest, discreet, and manly; and his philosophical discourses were ingenious. This procured him popular favour, and public honours; and the Lacedæmonians, without regard to Dionysius' resentment, though at the very time they had received succours from him against the Thebans, presented him with the freedom of their city. We are told that Dion accepted an invitation from Ptæodorus, the Megarensian, who was a man of considerable power and fortune; and when he found his door crowded with people on business, and that it was difficult to get access to him, he said to his friends, who were expressing their dissatisfaction on the occasion, "Why should this affront us? We did "the same ourselves at Syracuse."

Dion's popularity in Greece soon excited the jealousy of Dionysius, who in consequence stopped

[16] These (as Suidas, and Diog. Laert. ix. 3., tell us) were a species of burlesque satires, directed against the philosophers, particularly those called the Dogmatists. Speusippus succeeded Plato in the Academy, B. C. 348.*

[17] This was a dramatic entertainment, exhibited with great magnificence on the feast of Bacchus. See the Life of Aristides, II. 445.

his remittances, and put his estate into the hands of his own stewards. That his reputation however might not suffer through Plato's means among the philosophers, he retained a number of learned men in his court; and being desirous to outshine them all in disputation, he was frequently under a necessity of introducing, without the smallest propriety, the arguments which he had learned from Plato. He now wished for that philosopher again, and repented that he had so ill availed himself of his instructions. Like a tyrant therefore, whose desires however extravagant are immediately to be complied with, he was violently bent on recalling him. To effect this, he meditated every expedient: and at length prevailed upon Archytas, and the rest of the Pythagorean philosophers, to pledge themselves for the performance of his promises, and to persuade him to return to Sicily; for it was Plato, who had first introduced those philosophers to his acquaintance[18].

On their part, they despatched Archidemus to Plato, and Dionysius at the same time sent some galleys with several of his friends to join in their request. He wrote to him likewise himself, and told him in plain and positive terms, that his friend Dion must expect no favour from him, unless he accepted his invitation; but, upon his arrival, he might depend on every thing he desired. Dion was also solicited by his sister and wife to persuade Plato to gratify the tyrant, that he might no longer have an apology for the severity of his treatment. Plato therefore, as he says himself, set sail the third time for Sicily:

> To brave Charybdis' dreadful gulf once more[19]!

His arrival was not only a satisfaction to Dionysius, but to the whole of Sicily; the inhabitants of which did not fail to implore the gods, that Plato

[18] See Plato, Epist. vii.

[19] Odys. xii. 428. The passage itself occurs in Plato, Epist. vii.*

might overcome Philistus, and that the tyranny might expire under the influence of his philosophy. Plato was in high favour with the women in particular, and with Dionysius he had such credit as no other person could boast, being allowed to approach him without being searched. When Aristippus the Cyrenean [20] saw the king offering Plato money, and Plato as constantly declining it, he said, "Dionysius "was liberal without danger of exhausting his trea-"sury; for to those who wanted and would take "money, he was sparing in his offers, but profuse "where he knew it would be refused."

After the first compliments were over, Plato seized an opportunity of mentioning Dion; but the tyrant put him off, till at last expostulations and animosities took place. These, however, Dionysius was industrious to conceal, and endeavoured to bring over Plato from Dion's interest by repeated favours and studied civilities. The philosopher, on the other hand, did not immediately publish that prince's perfidy, but dissembled his resentment. While things were thus circumstanced, Helicon of Cyzicum, one of Plato's followers, foretold an eclipse of the sun; and, as it happened according to his prediction, the king in admiration of his learning rewarded him with a talent of silver. Upon this Aristippus, jesting among the rest of the philosophers, told them, "That he likewise had something extraordinary "to prognosticate." Being entreated to make it known, "I foresee," said he, "that there will shortly "be a quarrel between Dionysius and Plato." Soon after this, Dionysius sold Dion's estate, and converted the money to his own use. Plato was removed from his apartment in the palace-gardens, and

[20] This philosopher began with taking lessons from Socrates; but disliking the rigid ethics of that school, he established one of his own under the name of Cyrenaic, which was still more voluptuous and accommodating to human frailty than that of Epicurus. He was a great favourite with Horace, and is frequently mentioned in his works, particularly Ep. I. i. and xvii., in the latter of which he is very pleasantly contrasted with the cynic Diogenes.*

placed within the purlieus of the soldiery; who had long hated and even sought to kill him, on a supposition that he had advised the tyrant to lay down his government, and disband his guards.

Archytas, who had engaged for Plato's safety, when he understood his danger, sent a galley to demand him; and the tyrant, in order to palliate his enmity, previously to his departure made pompous entertainments. At one of them, however, he could not forbear saying; "I suppose, Plato, "when you return to your companions in the Aca-"demy, my faults will often be the subject of your "censure." "I hope," answered Plato with a smile, "we shall never be so much at a loss for sub-"jects in the Academy, as to mention you at all." Such are the circumstances, which have been mentioned concerning Plato's departure, but they are not perfectly consistent with his own account[21].

Dion being offended not only with these things, but with some intelligence, which he had before received concerning his wife (mysteriously alluded to in Plato's letter to Dionysius), openly declared himself his enemy. The affair was as follows: Plato was desired by Dionysius privately to consult Dion, upon his return to Greece, whether or not he would dislike his wife's marrying another man: for there was a report, whether true or the invention of his enemies, that his matrimonial state was not agreeable to him, and that there was a coolness between him and Arete. After Plato had consulted Dion on the affair, he wrote to Dionysius; and, though he spake in plain terms of other matters, he mentioned this in a manner which could be intelligible only to the king. He told him, that he had conversed with Dion on the business, and that he would certainly resent it, if any such attempt should be made[22].

So long as any prospect of an accommodation re-

[21] Epist. vii., where he simply states that Dionysius, on Archytas' requisition, victualled a galley for him, and sent him home again.*

[22] Epist. xiii.

mained, Dionysius took no farther steps in the affair; but when that prospect disappeared, and Plato had once more left Sicily in displeasure, he compelled Arete to marry Timocrates: in this instance, falling short even of his father's lenity; for when Philoxenus (who had married Theste, the sister of that prince) was declared his enemy, and fled through fear out of Sicily, Dionysius sent for his sister, and reproached her with having been privy to her husband's escape, without letting him know it. Theste, without fear or hesitation, replied; "Do you then, Dionysius, "think me so bad a wife, or so weak a woman, that "if I had known of my husband's flight, I would "not have accompanied him, and shared in the "worst of his fortunes? Indeed, I was ignorant of "it. And I assure you, that I should esteem it "a higher honour to be called the wife of Phi-"loxenus the exile, than the sister of Dionysius the "tyrant." The king, it is said, admired her spirited answer: and the Syracusans honoured her so much, that she retained her princely respect and retinue even after the dissolution of the tyranny; and the citizens, by public decree, attended the solemnity of her funeral. This is a digression, but it may have it's use.

Dion now thought of nothing but war[23]. Plato, however, was against it; partly on account of the hospitality, which he had received from Dionysius, and partly because of the advanced age of Dion[24]. Speusippus and the rest of his friends, on the other hand, encouraged him to rescue from slavery his

[23] B. C. 537.

[24] Of Plato, now 71, say the modern editors of Amyot's French version, arguing from the best MSS. That it could not be Dion, appears as well from Plato's Epist. vii. where he observes, that on his first arrival at the younger Dionysius' court (eleven years only prior to this period) Dion had just attained manhood, as from Cornelius Nepos, who states that at his death (three years, at least, subsequent to his arrival in Sicily) he was only fifty-five. He might then now be pronounced, as in the next page, παρηκμακως, but hardly perhaps γερων.*

native Sicily, which stretched forth her hands toward him, and would certainly receive him with every expression of joy. Speusippus, when he attended Plato into Sicily, had mixed more with the people, and learned their sentiments with regard to the government. At first indeed they were reserved, and suspected him as an emissary of the tyrant's; but, by degrees, he obtained their confidence. In short, it was the voice and prayer of the people, that Dion would come though without either army or navy to their relief, and lend them only his name and his presence against the tyrant. These representations encouraged Dion, who the more effectually to conceal his intentions, raised what forces he was able by means of his friends. In this he was assisted by many statesmen and philosophers, among others by Eudemus the Cyprian (upon occasion of whose death, Aristotle wrote his Dialogue on the Soul[25]), and Timonides the Leucadian. These engaged in his interest Miltas the Thessalian, who was skilled in divination, and had been his fellow-Academician. But of all those whom the tyrant had banished, which were not fewer than a thousand, only twenty-five gave in their names for the service. The rest, through want of spirit, declined engaging in the cause. The general rendezvous was in the island of Zacynthus[26]; and there, when the little army was assembled, it did not amount to eight hundred men[27]: but they were men, who had signalised themselves in many a hot engagement; they were in perfect discipline, and inured to hardship; in courage and conduct, they had no superiors in the army: in short, they were men likely to serve Dion's cause,

[25] Not now extant.*

[26] *Hod.* Zante, an island in the Ionian sea, to the west of the Morea.*

[27] Diod. Sic. cxvi. 9, 10. enlarges, with great propriety, upon the extraordinary spirit of this enterprise, (L.) and the cause of it's success; a success, which proved that power alone is not the 'adamantine' chain of empire, unless the links have been forged by justice and benevolence.*

by rousing and animating by their example those, who should flock to his standard in Sicily.

Yet these men, when they understood that they were to be led against Dionysius, were disheartened, and condemned the rash resentment of Dion; the consequence of which they looked upon as certain ruin. Neither were they less offended with their commanders, and those who had enlisted them, for having concealed the object of the service. But when Dion, in a public speech, after showing them the feeble state of Dionysius' government, told them that he considered them rather as so many officers, whom he carried to head the people of Sicily already prepared to revolt, than as private men; and when Alcimenes, who in birth and reputation was the principal man in Achaia, confirmed this statement and joined in the expedition, they were fully satisfied.

It was now about midsummer, the Etesian winds[28] prevailed at sea, and the moon was at the full, when Dion prepared a magnificent sacrifice to Apollo, and marched in procession to the temple with his men under arms. After the sacrifice, he gave them a feast in the race-ground of the Zacynthians. They were astonished at the quantity of gold and silver-plate exhibited upon this occasion, so far above the ordinary fortunes of a private man; and naturally concluded, that a person of such opulence would not at a late period of life expose himself to dangers, without a fair prospect of success, and the certain

[28] These winds blow regularly at a certain season of the year. Strabo sometimes calls them East, and sometimes North winds; but to convey Dion from Zacynthus to Pachynus, they must have blown from the east. Pliny makes the Etesian the same as the North-East wind: *Aquilo in æstate mediâ mutat nomen, et Etesias vocatur.* (H. N. xviii. 34.) He informs us, when these winds begin: *Decimo octavo Cal. Aug. Ægypto aquilo occidit matutinò, Etesiarumque prodromi flatus incipiunt* (28.): and when they end; *Decimo sexto Cal. Oct. Ægypto Spica, quam tenet virgo, exoritur matutinò, Etesiæque desinunt* (31). Thus, it seems, they last about two months (Pliny elsewhere says forty days, ii. 47.); and the relief of such gales in that season is plainly providential. Aristotle accounts for them from the convexity of the earth.

and strong support of friends. After the usual prayers and libations, the moon was eclipsed. This was nothing strange to Dion, who knew the variations of the ecliptic, and that the defection of the moon's light was caused by the interposition of the earth between her and the sun. But as the soldiers were troubled about it, Miltas the soothsayer undertook to give it a proper turn, assuring them that it portended the sudden obscurity of something, which was at present glorious; and that this glorious object could be no other than Dionysius, whose lustre would be extinguished on their arrival in Sicily. This interpretation he communicated in as public a manner as possible; but from the prodigy of the bees[29], a swarm of which settled upon the stern of Dion's ship, he intimated to his friends his apprehensions that the great affairs, which Dion was then prosecuting, after flourishing awhile, would come to nothing. Dionysius, it is likewise said, had many prodigies upon this occasion. An eagle snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and after flying aloft with it, dropped it into the sea. The waters of the sea at the foot of the citadel, as plainly appeared to every one who tasted them, were fresh for one entire day. He had pigs farrowed perfect in all their other parts, but without ears. This the soothsayers considered as an omen of rebellion and revolt: the people, they said, would no longer give ear to the mandates of the sovereign. The freshness of the sea-water imported that the Syracusans, after their harsh and severe treatment, would enjoy milder and better times. The eagle was the minister of Jove, and the javelin an ensign of power and

[29] This superstition prevailed not less among the Romans, than among the Greeks. See the Life of Brutus. (L.) That the sudden appearance of a swarm of bees was considered as an inauspicious omen, portentous of slavery, &c., we learn from Cic. Orat. de Harusp. Responsis. Was the speedy decay of prosperity, foretold in the text (inquires the former English translator), inferred from the food of bees, the beautiful but transitory flower? *

government; thus the father of the gods had destined the overthrow and abolition of the tyranny. These things we have from Theopompus.

Dion's soldiers were conveyed in two transports. These were accompanied by another smaller vessel, and two more of thirty oars. Beside the arms of those who attended him, he took with him two thousand shields, a large quantity of darts and javelins, and a considerable supply of provisions, that nothing might be wanting in the expedition; for they put off to the main sea, because they did not think it safe to coast along, being informed that Philistus was stationed off Japygia[30] to watch their motions. Having sailed with a gentle wind about twelve days, on the thirteenth they arrived at Pachynus[31], a promontory in Sicily. There the pilot advised Dion to land his men immediately; as if they once doubled the cape, they might continue at sea a long time, before they could have a gale from the south at that season of the year. But Dion, who was afraid of disembarking too near the enemy, and chose rather to make good his landing in some remoter part of the island, doubled the cape notwithstanding. They had not sailed far, before a strong gale from the north and a high sea carried them quite off Sicily. At the same time, there was a violent storm of thunder and lightning, for it was about the rising of Arcturus; and it was accompanied with such dreadful rains, and the weather was in every respect so tempestuous, that the affrighted sailors knew not where they were, till they found themselves driven by the violence of the storm to Cercina on the coast of Africa. Here, from the dangerous rocks which surrounded this craggy island, they narrowly escaped being dashed to pieces; but by working hard with their poles

30 This seems to have been Apulia, or Calabria; and hence arose the name of the N. W. wind Japyx, which was favourable to such as were sailing from Italy to Greece (See Hor. Od. I. iii. 4., &c.) The *Acra Japygia* of Plin., H. N. iii. 11., is the modern C. di Leuca.*

31 *Hod.* Cape Passaro.

they kept clear, with much difficulty, till the storm abated. They were then informed by a vessel, which accidentally came up with them, that they were at the head of what is called the Great Syrtis [32]. In this horrible situation, they were farther disheartened by finding themselves becalmed; but, after beating about for some time, a gale sprung up suddenly from the south. On this unexpected change, as the wind increased upon them, they made all their sail, and imploring the assistance of the gods, once more put to sea in quest of Sicily. After an easy passage of five days, they arrived at Minoa, a small town in Sicily [33], belonging to the Carthaginians. Synalus [34], a friend of Dion's, was then governor of the place; and, as he did not know that this little fleet belonged to Dion, he attempted to prevent the landing of his men. The soldiers leaped out of the vessels in arms, but killed none that opposed them; for Dion, on account of his friendship with Synalus, had forbidden them. They ran however in one body with the fugitives into the town, and thus made themselves masters of it. When Dion and the governor met, mutual salutations passed between them, and the former restored to the latter his town unhurt. Synalus in return entertained his soldiers, and supplied him with necessaries.

It happened that Dionysius, a little before this, had sailed with eighty ships for Italy, and his absence gave them no small encouragement: so that, when Dion invited his men to refresh themselves for some time after their fatigues at sea, they thought of nothing but making a proper use of the present moment, and with one voice called upon him to lead them to Syracuse. He, therefore, left his useless

[32] Not far from Tripoli. There was also a smaller Syrtis, and both were bays full of rocks and quicksands, occasioning a dangerous inequality in the motion of the waters.*

[33] Called also Heraclea, on the southern coast between Agrigentum, *hod.* Girgenti, and Lilybæum, *hod.* Cape Boco.

[34] Diodorus calls him 'Pyralus.'

arms and baggage with Synalus, and having engaged him to transmit them to him at a proper opportunity, set off on his march for that place. Two hundred of the Agrigentine cavalry, who inhabited the country about Ecnomus, immediately revolted and joined him in his march, and these were followed by the inhabitants of Gela[35].

The news of his arrival soon reaching Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, and who was appointed regent in Dionysius' absence, immediately despatched letters to apprise the tyrant of the event. In the mean while, he applied himself to prevent all tumults in the city; for the people were greatly animated by the report of Dion's arrival, though their uncertainty and alarm for a time kept them quiet. A singular accident happened to the courier, who had been sent with the letters for Dionysius. Upon his landing in Italy, as he was passing through the territory of Rhegium to Caulonia, where the tyrant then was, he met an acquaintance of his returning home with a newly-offered sacrifice, and having received from him a little of the flesh for his own use[36], he made the best of his way. At night, however, he found it necessary to take a little rest, and retired to sleep in a wood by the road-side. A wolf, allured by the smell of the flesh, came up while he was asleep, and carried it off, together with the bag of letters to which it was fastened. When the courier awoke, he sought a long time to no purpose for his dispatches, and being afraid to face Dionysius without them, absconded. Thus it was a considerable time afterward, and from other sources, that Dionysius was informed of Dion's arrival in Sicily.

Dion, on his march, was joined by the Camarinæans, and many revolters from the territory of Syracuse. The Leontines and Campanians, who

[35] Which was near Agrigentum.

[36] To carry home part of the victim, and to give part of it to any person that the bearer met, were acts of religion.

with Timocrates guarded the Epipolæ[37], being misled by a report (designedly propagated by Dion) that he intended to attack their cities first, quitted their present station, and set off to take care of their own concerns. Dion, being informed of this while he lay near Acræ, decamped in the night, and came to the river Anapus, which is at the distance of ten furlongs from the city. There he halted, and sacrificed by the river, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. The soothsayers informed him that the gods gave a promise of victory, and as he had himself assumed a garland at the sacrifice, all who were present immediately did the same. He was now joined by about five thousand, who were ill-furnished indeed with arms, but their courage supplied that deficiency[38]. When he gave orders to march, the parole was 'Liberty,' and they rushed forward with the loudest acclamations of joy. The most eminent and powerful citizens of Syracuse, dressed in white, met him at the gates. The populace, in the mean while, fell with great fury upon Dionysius' party; but in particular they seized his spies, a set of wretches hated by gods and men, who went prying about the city to collect the sentiments and expressions of the inhabitants, in order to report them to the tyrant. These were the first that suffered, being knocked down wherever they were met. When Timocrates found that he could not join the garrison in the citadel, he fled on horseback out of the city, and spread a general terror and dismay wherever he passed; magnifying all the while the forces of Dion, that it might not appear a slight effort, against which he was unable to defend the place.

[37] See the Life of Timoleon, II. 253., not. (31.) Camarina was a city on the southern, and Acræ (mentioned below) on the eastern coast of Sicily. Of the Campanians, not Catanians (as some would read), who were Italian settlers in Sicily, see a full account in Diod. Sic. xiv. 8. 15. 58. xvi. 82.*

[38] Diodorus says, he was soon joined by 20,000, and that when he reached Syracuse, he had not fewer than 50,000 men.

Dion now made his public entry into the town, dressed in a magnificent suit of armour, his brother Megacles marching on the right hand, and Callippus the Athenian on the left, with garlands upon their heads. He was followed by a hundred foreign soldiers, who were his body-guard; and after these marched the rest of the army in proper order, under the conduct of their respective officers. This procession the Syracusans regarded as sacred. They considered it as the triumphal entry of Liberty, which would once more establish the popular government, after a suppression of forty-eight years.

When Dion entered at the Menitidian gate, silence was commanded by sound of trumpet, and he ordered freedom to be proclaimed to the Syracusans and the rest of the Sicilians, in the name of Dion and Megacles, who came to abolish tyranny. Being desirous to address the people in a speech, he marched up to the Achradina. As he passed through the streets, the people prepared their victims on tables placed before their doors, scattered flowers on his head, and offered up their prayers to him as their tutelar deity. At the foot of the citadel, under the Pentapylæ, stood a lofty sun-dial[39], which had been placed there by Dionysius. From the top of this building he addressed the citizens, and exhorted them earnestly to assert their freedom. The people in their turn nominated Dion and his brother prætors of the city, and on their wish and request appointed them twenty collegues, half of whom were selected from Dion's brother-exiles.

At first it was considered by the soothsayers as a good omen that Dion, when he addressed the people, had under his feet the stately edifice which Dionysius had erected; but upon reflecting that this edi-

39 Pherecydes was the first, who invented dials to mark the hour of the day, about three hundred years after Homer. But before his time the Phœnicians had contrived a dial in the isle of Scyros, which described the solstices.

fice, on which he had been declared general, was a sun-dial, they became apprehensive that his present power would fall into speedy decline.

Dion in the next place took the castle of Epipolæ, released the prisoners who were confined there, and invested it with a strong wall. Seven days after this event, Dionysius arrived from Italy, and entered the citadel from the sea. Dion at the same time received from Synalus the arms and ammunition, which he had left with him. These he distributed among the citizens, as far as they would go: the rest armed themselves, as well as they were able; and all expressed the utmost alacrity for the service. Dionysius, at first, sent agents in a private manner to Dion, to try what terms might be made with him: but Dion refused to receive any overtures in private. The Syracusans, he told the envoys, were now a free people; and what they had to offer, must be addressed to them in public. Upon this, they made specious proposals to the citizens, and promised them an abatement of their taxes, and an exemption from serving in the wars, even though those wars should be undertaken with their own approbation. These proposals the Syracusans held in derision; and Dion answered, that it would be in vain for Dionysius to propose terms, without resigning in the first place the regal government; if he took this measure, however, he added, he might depend upon all the good offices in his power, at least with regard to every thing reasonable, from the remembrance of their relationship. Dionysius seeming to consent to these terms, sent back his agents, to desire that a deputation of the Syracusans might attend him in the citadel, in order to settle articles by mutual concessions for the public tranquillity. Dion, therefore, selected a number of the citizens for this deputation; and the general report from the citadel was, that Dionysius would voluntarily resign his authority.

This, however, was only a crafty stratagem to amuse the Syracusans. The deputies no sooner

arrived, than they were imprisoned; and early the next morning, after he had plied the mercenaries with wine, he ordered them to sally out and attack the wall which had been built by Dion. This unexpected assault was carried on with great vigour by the barbarians. They broke through the works, and falling with extreme impetuosity and loud shouts upon the Syracusans, quickly put them to flight. Dion's foreign troops took the alarm, and hastened to their relief; but the cries and blunders of the citizens mixing and rushing forward with them disordered their ranks, and rendered it difficult for them to hear orders, or give any effectual assistance. Dion, perceiving that in this tumult his orders could not be heard, instructed them by his example, and charged the thickest of the enemy. The battle, where he fought in person, was fierce and bloody. He was known to the enemy, as well as to his own party; and they rushed toward him with the utmost fury. His age, indeed, rendered him unfit for such an engagement; but he maintained the fight with great vigour, and cut in pieces many of the enemy that attacked him. At length, he was wounded in the head with a lance; his shield was pierced through in many places with the darts and spears, levelled against him; and his armour no longer resisting the blows which he received in this close engagement, he fell to the ground. He was immediately carried off by his soldiers, and leaving the command to Timonides, rode about the city to rally the fugitives. Soon afterward he brought a detachment of foreign soldiers, which he had left to guard the Achradina, as a fresh reserve against the enemy. This, however, was unnecessary: they had placed their whole hopes of retaking the city in their first sally, and finding so powerful a resistance, fatigued with the action they retreated into the citadel. As soon as they began to fall back, the Greek soldiers bore hard upon them, and pursued them up to the wall. In this action Dion lost seventy-four men, and an

immense number of the enemy perished. The victory was so important, that the Syracusans rewarded each of the foreign soldiers with a hundred minæ, and Dion was presented by his army with a crown of gold.

Soon after this, messengers came from Dionysius, with letters to Dion from the women of his family. Beside these, there was one inscribed, 'Hipparinus (this was the name of Dion's son) to his father Dion.' Timæus says, indeed, that he was called Aretæus from his mother Arete; but I think credit is rather to be given to Timonides, who was his friend and fellow-soldier. The rest of the letters, which were read openly before the Syracusans, contained various solicitations and entreaties from the women. That, which appeared to come from Hipparinus, the people out of respect to the father wished not to be opened in public; but Dion insisted, that it should. It proved to be a letter from Dionysius himself, directed indeed to Dion, but in reality addressed to the people of Syracuse; for, though it carried the air of request and apology, it had an obvious tendency to render Dion obnoxious to the citizens. He reminded him of the zeal, which he had formerly shown for his service; he threatened him through his dearest connexions, his sister, his son, and his wife; and his menaces were followed by the most passionate entreaties, and the most abject lamentations. But the most trying part of his address was that, where he besought Dion not to destroy the government, and give that freedom to his inveterate enemies, by means of which they would prosecute him to death; but to retain the regal power himself, for the protection of his family and friends.

This letter did not produce those sentiments in the people, which it should naturally have done. Instead of exciting admiration of the noble firmness and magnanimity, which could prefer the public utility to the tenderest private connexions, it occasioned jealousies and fears. The people saw, or

thought they saw, that Dion was under an absolute necessity of being favourable to Dionysius. They already began to wish for another general, and it was with peculiar satisfaction they heard of the arrival of Heraclides. This Heraclides, who had been banished by the tyrant, had once held a distinguished command in the army, and was a man of considerable military abilities; but he was an irresolute character, and particularly unsteady when he had a collegue in command. He had, some time before, had a difference with Dion in Peloponnesus, and therefore resolved upon his own strength to make war against Dionysius. On reaching Syracuse, he found the tyrant closely besieged, and the Syracusans elated with their success. His first object, therefore, was to court the people, and for this purpose he had all the necessary talents; an insinuating address, and that kind of flattery, which is so acceptable to the multitude. This business was the more easy to him, as the fobidding gravity of Dion was thought too haughty for a popular state: besides, the Syracusans, already insolent with success, claimed the court usually paid to a free people, though they had not in reality recovered their freedom. Thus they convened themselves without any summons, and appointed Heraclides their admiral. When Dion indeed remonstrated against their procedure, and showed them that by thus constituting Heraclides admiral they had superseded the office of general, which they had previously conferred upon himself, they with some reluctance annulled the commission. This affair settled, Dion invited Heraclides to his house, and gently expostulated with him on the impropriety of insisting upon a punctilio of honour, at a time when the least inattention to the common cause might be the ruin of the whole. He then called an assembly, appointed Heraclides admiral, and prevailed upon the citizens to allow him such a guard, as they had before granted to himself. Heraclides treated Dion with the utmost appearance of

respect, acknowledged his obligations to him, and seemed attentive to his commands; but in private he corrupted the people, and encouraged a spirit of mutiny and dissatisfaction, so that Dion was involved in continual disturbances and disquiet. If he recommended, that Dionysius should be permitted to make his retreat in safety, he was censured, as designing to favour and protect him: And if in order to avoid those suspicions, he advised the continuance of the seige, he was accused of protracting the war, that he might the longer retain his command, and hold the citizens in subjection.

There was in the city one Sosis, a fellow infamous for his insolence and villainy, who thought the perfection of liberty was the licentiousness of speech. This wretch openly attacked Dion, and told the people at a public meeting, that they had only changed the inattention of a drunken and dissolute tyrant for the crafty vigilance of a sober master. Immediately after this he left the assembly, and was seen the next day running naked through the streets, as if from somebody that pursued him, with his head and face covered with blood. In this condition he burst into the market-place, and told the people that he had been assaulted by Dion's foreign soldiers; at the same time showing them a wound in his head, which he said they had given him. Dion upon this was generally condemned, and accused of silencing the people by sanguinary methods. He came however before this irregular and tumultuous assembly in his own vindication, and made it appear that this Sosis was brother to one of Dionysius' guards, and had been engaged by him to raise a tumult in the city; the only resource, which the tyrant had now left, being that of exciting factions and dissensions among the people. The surgeons also, who examined the wound, found that it was not occasioned by any violent blow. The wounds made by weapons are generally deepest in the middle; whereas this was entirely superficial, and

being discontinuous did not appear to have been the effect of one incision, but to have been made at different times as the pain gave him leave. At the same time others deposed, that seeing Sosis running naked and wounded, and hearing him exclaim that he was flying from the pursuit of Dion's foreign soldiers, who had just then wounded him, they hastened to take the pursuers: that however they could meet with no such persons, but found a rasor lying under a hollow stone near the place, whence they had observed him come. All these circumstances pressed strongly against him: but when his own servants gave evidence, that he went out of his house alone before day-light with a rasor in his hand, Dion's accusers were silenced. The people unanimously condemned Sosis to die, and were once more reconciled to Dion.

Nevertheless, their jealousy of his soldiers remained. And as the war was now principally carried on by sea, Philistus being come to Dionysius' support with a considerable fleet from Japygia, they did not see the necessity of retaining in their service those Greeks who were no seamen, and who must depend for protection on the naval force. Their confidence in their own strength was likewise greatly increased by an advantage gained at sea against Philistus, whom they used in a very barbarous manner. Ephorus states that, after his ship was taken, he slew himself. But Timonides, who attended Dion from the beginning of the war, writing to Speusippus the philosopher, relates the story as follows: Philistus' galley having run aground, he was taken prisoner alive; and after being disarmed and stripped was exposed naked, though an old man, to every kind of insult. They then cut off his head, and ordered their children to drag his body through the Achradina, and throw it into the quarry. Timæus represents the indignity, offered to his remains, as having been still greater. The boys, he says, tied a rope about his lame leg, and so dragged

him through the city; the Syracusans in the mean while insulting over his carcase, when they saw fastened by the leg him, who had said; "It would ill "become Dionysius to trust to his horses' heels for "his escape from a throne, which he ought never "to quit, till he was dragged from it by his own[40]." Philistus however informs us, that this was not said to Dionysius by himself, but by another. It is plain at the same time, that Timæus seizes every occasion, from Philistus' zealous adherence to arbitrary power, of loading him with the keenest reproaches. Those whom he injured are in some degree excusable, if in their resentment they treated him with indignities after death. But wherefore should his biographers, whom he never injured, and who have had the benefit of his works, exhibit him with all the exaggeration of scurrility in those scenes of distress, to which fortune sometimes reduces the best of men? Ephorus, on the other hand, is no less extravagant in his encomiums on Philistus. He knows well how to throw into shades the foibles of the human character, and to give an air of plausibility to the most indefensible conduct; but, with all his eloquence and art, he cannot rescue Philistus from the imposition of having been the most strenuous assertor of despotism, and the fondest follower and admirer of the luxury, the power, the magnificence, and the alliance of tyrants. Upon the whole, he who neither defends the principles of Philistus, nor insults over his misfortunes, will best discharge the duty of the historian.

After the death of Philistus, Dionysius offered to surrender the citadel to Dion, together with the arms, provisions, and soldiers, and an advance of five months' pay, on condition that he might be permitted to retire into Italy, and there enjoy the revenues of Gyata, a fruitful tract of country in the territory of Syracuse, reaching from the sea to the

[40] Diod. Sic. xiv. 8.

middle of the country. Dion, still refusing to negotiate on his own account, referred the embassadors to the Syracusans; and these, as they expected that Dionysius would shortly come alive into their hands, dismissed them without audience. Upon this the tyrant, leaving his eldest son Apollocrates to defend the citadel, embarked with his most valuable treasures and a few select friends, and setting sail with a fair wind, eluded the admiral's observation.

The tyrant's escape having greatly exasperated the people against Heraclides, in order to appease them, he proposed by Hippo, one of the orators, that there should be an equal division of lands; alleging, that equality was the first foundation of civil liberty, and that poverty and slavery were synonymous terms. Thus, while he supported Hippo in the promotion of this scheme, he encouraged the faction against Dion, who opposed it. At length he prevailed with the people not only to pass this law, but also to direct the pay of the foreign soldiers to be stopped, and new commanders chosen, that they might no longer be subject to the severe discipline of Dion. Thus like the patient, who after a lingering sickness makes too rash a use of the first returns of health, and rejects the gradual and sober regimen of his physician, the citizens from their long slavery took too precipitate steps to freedom, and refused the salutary counsels of their deliverer.

It was about the middle of summer, when the assembly was summoned for the election of new officers; and for the space of fifteen days there were the most dreadful thunders, and the most alarming prodigies. The religious fears, which these prodigies excited, made the people decline the choosing of officers. When the weather grew more serene, the orators again exhorted them to proceed to the business; but no sooner had they begun than a draught-ox, which could not have been terrified by the crowds and noise to which he had been accus-

tomed, suddenly in a fit of irritation against his driver broke from his yoke, and running furiously into the assembly, scattered the people in great disorder before him; thence, throwing down all that stood in his way, he carried confusion throughout that part of the city, which afterward fell into the enemy's hands. The Syracusans however, regardless of these things, elected five-and-twenty officers, among whom was Heraclides. At the same time, they privately endeavoured to draw off Dion's men; promising, if they would desert him, to make them citizens of Syracuse. But the soldiers were faithful to their general, and taking and placing him in the middle of a battalion, marched out of the city. They did not indeed, upon this occasion, offer any violence to the inhabitants; but they severely reproached them for their baseness and ingratitude. The comparative smallness of their number, and their declining to act offensively, induced the Syracusans to attempt cutting them off, before they escaped out of the city; and, with this design, they fell upon their rear. Dion was now in a great difficulty and dilemma; finding himself under the necessity either of fighting against his countrymen, or of suffering himself and his faithful soldiers to be cut in pieces. He entreated the Syracusans, therefore, to desist; stretching forth his hands to them, and pointing to the citadel full of soldiers, who were happy in being spectators of these dissensions among their enemies. But the torrent of the populace, impelled by the seditious breath of the orators, was not to be stopped by persuasion. He therefore commanded his men to advance with shouts, and clashing of arms, but not to attack them. The Syracusans upon this fled immediately through the streets, though no one pursued them, for Dion retreated with his men into the territories of the Leontines.

The very women ridiculed the new officers for

this cowardly flight; and the latter, to recover their reputation, ordered the citizens to arms, pursued Dion, and came up with him as he was crossing a river. A skirmish began between the cavalry; but when they found Dion no longer disposed to bear these indignities with his usual paternal patience, and observed him with all the eagerness of resentment drawing up his forces for battle, they once more turned their backs, and with the loss of some few men fled to the city in a more cowardly manner than before.

The Leontines received Dion most honourably, gave money to his soldiers, and made them free of their city. They also despatched messengers to Syracuse with requisitions, that his men might have justice done them, and receive their pay. The Syracusans, in return, despatched messengers with impeachments against Dion: but, when the matter was debated at Leontium in a full assembly of the allies, they evidently appeared to be in fault. They refused, nevertheless, to stand to the award of this assembly; for the recent recovery of their liberties had rendered them insolent, and the popular power was without control, their very commanders being no more than servile dependents upon the multitude.

About this time, Dionysius sent a fleet under Nypsius the Neapolitan, with provisions and pay for the garrison in the citadel. The Syracusans overcame him, and took four of his ships; but they made an ill use of their success. Destitute of all discipline, they celebrated the victory with the most riotous extravagance; and, at the very time when they thought themselves secure of taking the citadel, they lost the city. Nypsius observing their disorder, their night-revels and debauches, in which their commanders (either from inclination, or through fear of giving offence by issuing orders to a drunken rabble) were as deeply engaged as themselves, availed him-

self of the opportunity, broke through their walls, and subjected the city to the violence and depredation of his soldiers.

The Syracusans at once perceived their folly, and their misfortune: but the latter, in their present confusion, was not easy to be redressed. The soldiers made dreadful havock in the city: they demolished the fortifications, put the men to the sword, and dragged the women and children shrieking to the citadel. The Syracusan officers being unable to separate the citizens from the enemy, or to draw them up in any order, gave up all for lost. So circumstanced, while the Achradina itself was in danger of being taken, they naturally turned their thoughts upon Dion; but none had the courage to mention a man, whom all had injured. In this emergency a voice was heard from the cavalry and the allies, crying, "Send for Dion and his Peloponnesians "from Leontium." His name was no sooner once mentioned, than the people shouted for joy. With tears they implored, that he might once more be placed at their head: they remembered his promptitude and intrepidity in the most trying dangers: the courage which he himself had always displayed, and the confidence which he inspired, whenever he led them against the enemy. Archonides and Telesides from the auxiliaries, and Hellanicus with four more from the cavalry, were immediately despatched to Leontium; where, making the best of their way, they arrived in the close of the evening. There, instantly throwing themselves at Dion's feet, they related with tears the deplorable condition of the Syracusans. The Leontines and Peloponnesians soon gathered about them, conjecturing from their haste, and the manner of their address, that their business had something extraordinary in it.

Dion immediately summoned an assembly, and the people being soon collected, Archonides and Hellanicus briefly stated the distress of the Syracusans,

entreated the foreign soldiers to forget the injuries which they had offered them, and once more to assist that unfortunate people, already more heavily punished for their ingratitude, than even they whom they had injured would have wished. When they had thus spoken, a profound silence ensued; upon which Dion arose, and attempted to address them; but he was prevented by his tears. His soldiers, deeply affected by their general's sorrow, besought him to moderate his grief, and to proceed. After he had recovered himself a little, he spake to the following purpose: "Peloponnesians and confede-"rates, I have called you together, that you may "consult upon your respective affairs. My mea-"sures are taken: I cannot hesitate what to do, "when Syracuse is perishing. If I cannot save it, "I will at least hasten thither, and bury myself "beneath the ruins of my country. For you, if "you can yet persuade yourselves to assist the most "unfortunate and inconsiderate of men, it may be "in your power to save from destruction a city, "which was the work of your own hands[41]. But, "if your pity for the Syracusans be sacrificed to "your resentment, may the gods reward your "fidelity and kindness to Dion! And remember, "that as he would not desert you when you were "injured, so neither could he abandon his falling "country."

He had scarcely ended, when the soldiers signified their readiness for the service by loud acclamations, and called upon him to march directly to the relief of Syracuse. The messengers embraced them, and entreated the gods to shower down their blessings upon Dion and the Peloponnesians. As soon as the tumult subsided, Dion gave orders that the men should repair to their quarters, and after taking

[41] Strabo says, that Syracuse was built Ol. xi. 2. by Archias, one of the Heraclidæ, who came from Corinth to Syracuse.

the necessary refreshments assemble in the same place completely armed; as he intended to march that very night.

Dionysius' soldiers, after having ravaged the city during the whole day, retired at night with the loss of a few men into the citadel. This small respite once more encouraged the demagogues of the city, who presuming that the enemy would not repeat their hostilities, dissuaded the people from admitting Dion and his foreign soldiers; advising them not to resign the honour of saving the city to strangers, but to defend their liberty themselves. Upon this, the generals despatched fresh messengers to Dion, to countermand his march; while on the other hand, the cavalry, and many of the principal citizens, sent to request that he would hasten it. Thus invited by one party and rejected by another, he advanced but slowly; and, at night, the faction which opposed him set a guard upon the gates, to prevent his entering.

Nypsius now made a fresh sally from the citadel, with still more fury, and greater numbers of mercenaries than before; and after having totally demolished the remaining part of the fortifications, began to ravage the city. The slaughter was dreadful: men, women, and children fell indiscriminately by the sword; for the object of the enemy was not so much plunder, as destruction. Dionysius despaired of regaining his lost empire, and in his mortal hatred of the Syracusans, determined to bury it in the ruins of their city[42]. It was resolved therefore that, before Dion's succours could arrive, they should destroy it the quickest way, by laying it in ashes. Accordingly, they set fire to the nearer parts by brands and torches, and to those which were more remote, by shooting flaming arrows. The citizens, in the utmost consternation, fled every where before

[42] Such might have been his orders to Nypsius, but he was not now at Syracuse himself.*

them. Those who, in order to avoid the fire, had deserted their houses, were put to the sword in the streets; and they, who sought for refuge in their houses, were again driven out by the flames: many were burned to death, and many perished beneath the falling habitations.

This terrible distress by universal consent, opened the gates for Dion. After learning that the enemy had retreated into the citadel, he had made no great haste. But, early in the morning, some horsemen carried him the news of this fresh assault. These were followed by others, even of those who had recently opposed his coming, but who now implored him to fly to their relief. As the calamity increased, Heraclides despatched his brother, and after him his uncle Theodotes, to entreat Dion's assistance; for they were now no longer in a capacity of opposing the enemy: he was himself wounded, and a considerable part of the city had been destroyed and laid in ashes.

When Dion received this intelligence, he was about sixty furlongs from the city. After he had acquainted his soldiers with the dreadful exigency, and exhorted them to behave with resolution, they no longer marched, but ran; and in their way they were met by numbers in succession, who besought them if possible to go still faster. By the eager and vigorous speed of the soldiers, Dion quickly arrived at the city; and entering by the part called Hecatompedon, he ordered his light troops immediately to charge the enemy, that the Syracusans might take courage at the sight of them. In the mean while he drew up his heavy-armed men, with such of the citizens as had joined him, and divided them into several small bodies of greater depth than breadth, that he might intimidate the enemy by attacking them in several quarters at once. He himself advanced to the engagement at the head of his men, amidst a confused noise of shouts, plaudits, prayers, and vows, which the Syracusans offered up for their

deliverer, their tutelary deity; for so they now termed him, and his foreign soldiers they called 'their brethren and fellow-citizens.' At this time perhaps there was not a single wretch so selfishly fond of life, as not to hold Dion's safety dearer than his own, or than that of all his fellow-citizens; while they saw him advancing first in the front of danger, through blood and fire, and over heaps of the slain.

There was indeed something terrible in the appearance of the enemy, who animated by rage and despair had posted themselves in the ruins of the ramparts, so that it was extremely dangerous and difficult to approach them. But the apprehensions of fire discouraged Dion's men the most, and distressed them in their march. They were surrounded by flames, raging on every side; and while they walked over burning fragments, through clouds of ashes and smoke, they were every moment in danger of being overwhelmed by the fall of half-consumed buildings. In all these difficulties, they took infinite pains to keep close together, and to maintain their ranks. When they came up to the enemy, a few only could engage at a time, on account of the narrowness and inequality of the ground. They fought however with the utmost bravery, and encouraged by the acclamations of the citizens, at length routed Nypsius, most of whose men escaped into the citadel near at hand. Such of them as were dispersed, and could not effect an entrance, were pursued and put to the sword. The present deplorable state of the city afforded neither time nor propriety for the joyful congratulations, which usually follow victory. All were busy in saving the remains of the conflagration; but, though they laboured hard throughout the whole night, it was with great difficulty that the fire was extinguished.

Not one orator of the popular faction durst any longer remain in the city. By their flight they at once confessed their guilt, and avoided punishment.

Heraclides however, and Theodotes, surrendered themselves to Dion, acknowledging their error, and entreating that he would not imitate them in the cruel treatment, which they had shown him. They forgot not to add, how much it would be for his honour, unequalled as he was in other virtues, to restrain his resentment; and by forgiving the ungrateful, to testify that superiority of spirit, for which they had contended with him. His friends, however, advised him by no means to pardon these factious and invidious men, but to give them up to his soldiers, and to rid the commonwealth of the ambition of demagogues, an evil not less destructive than that of tyrants. Dion, on the other hand, endeavoured to mitigate their resentment: "Other "generals," said he, "employ themselves chiefly "in military studies; but, by being long conver-"sant in the Academy, I have learned to subdue "my passions, and to restrain the impulses of all "envy, enmity, and anger. To prove that I have "really gained such a victory over myself, it is not "sufficient merely to be kind to men of virtue, but "to be indulgent and reconcileable to the injurious. "If I have excelled Heraclides in military and po-"litical abilities, I am resolved not to be inferior to "him in justice and clemency; since to have the "advantage in those, is the first degree of excel-"lence. The honours of conquest are never wholly "our own; for, though the conqueror may stand "unrivalled, fortune will claim her share in his suc-"cess [43]. Heraclides may be treacherous, invi-"dious, and malicious; but must Dion, therefore, "sully his glories by the indulgence of resent-"ment [44]? The laws, indeed, allow the revenge of "an injury to be more justifiable than the commis-

43 This is nearly the language of Cicero to Cæsar (Orat. pro Marcell. 2.): *Maximam verò partem, quasi suo jure, fortuna sibi vindicat*, &c.*

44 All this, though highly creditable to Dion and his illustrious tutor Plato, falls infinitely short of the comprehensive charity of the

"sion of it; but both proceed originally from the "infirmity of human nature. Besides, there is hardly "any malignity so inveterate, that it may not be "overcome by kindness, and softened by repeated "favours." Agreeably to these sentiments, Dion pardoned Heraclides, and dismissed him.

His first object was to repair the wall, with which he had formerly enclosed the citadel; and for this purpose, he ordered each of the citizens to furnish a palisado, and to bring it to the works. When they had done this, he sent them to their repose, and employed his own men the whole night in drawing a line of circumvallation round the citadel, which both the enemy and the citizens were astonished to find completed the next morning.

After the dead were buried, and the prisoners to the amount of two thousand ransomed, he summoned an assembly. Heraclides moved, that Dion should be declared commander-in-chief both at sea and land. This motion was approved by the nobility, and the commons were desired to confirm it; but the sailors and artificers tumultuously opposed it. They were unwilling, that Heraclides should lose his command at sea; for though they had no high opinion of his principles, they knew that he would be more indulgent than Dion, and more ready to gratify their inclinations. Dion therefore gave up the point, and agreed that Heraclides should continue admiral. But when the equal distribution of lands was moved for, he opposed it, and repealed all the decrees formerly passed with regard to that measure, by which he once more incurred the displeasure of the people. Heraclides again made his advantage of this, and harangued the soldiers and sailors at Messana, accusing Dion of a design to make himself absolute. At the same time, he pri-

Gospel: 'I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you,' &c. (Matth. v. 44.)

The conclusion of the speech will remind the Christian reader of Rom. xii. 19. (quoted from Prov. xxv. 22.): upon which see Pol. Synops. Crit. V. 278., and Wolf. Cur. Phil. et Crit. III. 253.*

vately corresponded with Dionysius, by means of Pharax a Spartan. When the nobility received intelligence of this, there was a sedition in the army, and the city was greatly distressed by want of provisions. Dion was now at a loss what measures to pursue; and all his friends condemned him, for having strengthened the hands of so perverse and invidious a wretch as Heraclides.

Pharax was encamped at Neapolis, in the territory of Agrigentum; and Dion led out the Syracusans, but not with a view of engaging him, till he found a convenient opportunity. This gave Heraclides and his seamen an occasion of exclaiming, that he delayed fighting only to continue the longer in command. Thus he was forced to action contrary to his inclinations, and was beaten. His loss indeed was small, and his defeat was owing rather to a misunderstanding in his own army, than to the superior courage of the enemy: he, therefore, resolved to renew the engagement, and after animating and encouraging his men to redeem their lost credit, drew them up in form of battle. In the evening however he was informed that Heraclides was sailing for Syracuse, with an intent to possess himself of the city, and to shut him out. Upon this he selected the bravest and most active of the cavalry, and rode with such expedition, that he reached the city by nine o'clock in the morning, after a march of seven hundred furlongs[45]. Heraclides, though he had made all the sail he could, was too late; and he therefore tacked about, and stood out to sea. While he was undetermined what course to steer, he met Gæsylus the Spartan, who told him that he was sent to command in chief in Sicily, as Gylippus had done before. Heraclides immediately accepted him, and boasted to his allies, that he had found in this Spartan an antidote to Dion's power: at the same time, he de-

[45] Is this possible? asks M. Ricard; and leaves it to military men to determine the question.*

spatched a herald to Syracuse, ordering the citizens to receive Gæsylus for their general. Dion replied, that the Syracusans had already a sufficient number of generals; and that, if it were necessary for them to have a Spartan, he was himself a citizen of Sparta.

Gæsylus having now no hopes of the command, waited upon Dion, and by his mediation reconciled him to Heraclides. This reconciliation was confirmed by the most solemn oaths, and Gæsylus himself was guarantee of the treaty, and undertook to punish Heraclides, on the event of any future breach of faith. The Syracusans upon this discharged their navy, deriving no advantages from it equal to the expenses of keeping it on foot, and to those inconveniences which it brought upon them, as a continual source of seditions among their chiefs. At the same time, they continued the siege of the citadel, and invested it with another wall. As the besieged were cut off from farther supplies, when provisions failed, the soldiers began to mutiny: so that Apollocrates was obliged to come to terms with Dion; and offered to deliver up to him the citadel with all the arms and stores, on condition that he might have five galleys, and be permitted to retire in safety with his mother and sisters. Dion granted his request, and with these he sailed to Dionysius.

He was no sooner under sail, than the whole city of Syracuse assembled to behold the joyful sight. Their hearts were so full of this interesting event, that they even expressed their anger against those who were absent, and could not be witnesses with what glory the sun that day rose upon Syracuse, delivered at last from the chains of slavery. As this flight of Dionysius' connexions[46] was one of the most memorable vicissitudes of fortune recorded in history, and as no tyranny had ever been more effectually established than his, how great must their

[46] B. C. 357.

joy and their self-complacency have been, after they had destroyed it by such inconsiderable means!

When Apollocrates was gone, and Dion proceeded to take possession of the citadel, the women could not wait till he entered, but ran to meet him at the gate. Aristomache came first, leading Dion's son; and Arete followed her in tears, apprehensive of meeting and addressing her husband, after she had been so long in the possession of another. Dion first embraced his sister, then his son: after which, Aristomache presented Arete to him, and said: "Your banishment, Dion, made us all equally "miserable. Your return, and your success, have "made us all happy; except her, whom I had the "misfortune to see by cruel compulsion given to "another, while you were yet alive. We are now "entirely in your disposal. But how will you de-"termine concerning this unhappy woman? And "how must she salute you? as her uncle, or as her "husband?" Dion was affected by this tender intercession, and wept. He embraced Arete with great affection, put his son into her hands, and desired her to retire to his own house, where he purposed to reside; for the city he immediately delivered up to the Syracusans.

All things had now succeeded to his wish; but he by no means sought to reap for himself the first advantages of his good fortune. His foremost object was to gratify his friends, to reward his allies, and to give his fellow-citizens and his foreign soldiers proper marks of his favour, in which his munificence even exceeded his abilities. As to himself, he lived in a plain and frugal manner, which upon this occasion in particular was universally admired. For while the fame of his actions and the reputation of his valour was spread throughout Sicily and Greece, he seemed rather to live with Plato in the sparing simplicity of the Academic life, than among soldiers, who looked upon the daily indulgences of luxury as a compensation for the toils and dangers of war.

Though Plato himself wrote to him[47], that the eyes of the whole world were upon him, he seems not to have carried his attentions beyond one particular part of one city, the Academy. His judges in that society, he knew, would not regard so much the greatness of his performances, his courage, or his victories, as the temper of mind with which he bore prosperity, and the moderation with which he sustained his happier fortunes. He did not, therefore, in the least relax in the severity of his manners; but kept the same reserve toward the people, though condescension was at this time politically necessary, and though Plato (as we have already observed) had expostulated with him upon this account, and told him that austerity was the companion of solitude[48]. He had, certainly, a natural antipathy to complaisance; and he had moreover a design, by his own example, to reform the manners of the Syracusans, which were become dissolute and immodest.

Heraclides now once more began to oppose him. Dion sent for him to attend at the council; but he replied, that he would not attend in any other capacity, than as a private citizen at a public assembly[49]. Soon after this, he charged Dion with having declined to demolish the citadel, and prevented the people from opening Dionysius' tomb, and dragging out the body. He accused him likewise of having, in contempt of his fellow-citizens, sent for counsellors and ministers to Corinth. And it is true, that he had engaged some Corinthians to assist him in settling his plan of government. His intention was to restrain the unlimited power of the popular administration (which cannot indeed properly be called a government, but rather, as Plato terms it, 'a warehouse of governments[50]'), and to establish the constitution on the Lacedæmonian and Cretan plan.

47 Epist. iv. 48 See p. 9.

49 Thus making his court to the people, by insinuating that the council was too aristocratical in it's nature.*

50 De. Rep. viii.

This was a mixture of the regal and popular governments, or rather an aristocracy. Dion knew, that the Corinthians were governed chiefly by the nobility; and that the influence of the people rarely interfered. He foresaw, however, that Heraclides would be no inconsiderable impediment to his scheme: he knew him to be factious, turbulent, and inconstant; and he therefore gave him up to those, who advised to kill him, though he had before saved him out of their hands. Accordingly, they broke into his house, and murthered him. His death was, at first, deeply resented by the citizens; but when Dion bestowed upon him a magnificent funeral, attended the dead body with his soldiers, and pronounced an oration to the people, their resentment went off. They were indeed sensible that, so long as the competition of Dion and Heraclides subsisted, the city would never be at peace.

Dion had a friend named Callippus, an Athenian, with whom he had first become acquainted, not on account of his literary merit, but (according to Plato[51]) because he happened to be introduced by him to some religious Mysteries; who had always attended him in the army, and stood high in his esteem. He was the first of his friends, who marched along with him into Syracuse with a garland upon his head, and he had subsequently much distinguished himself in every action. This man, finding that Dion's chief friends had fallen in the war, that since the death of Heraclides the popular party was without a leader, and that he himself stood in great favour with the army, formed an execrable design against the life of his benefactor. His object was certainly the supreme command in Sicily, though some say he was bribed to it by twenty talents. For this purpose, he drew several of the soldiers into a conspiracy against Dion, and his plot was conducted in a most artful manner. He constantly informed

[51] Epist. vii.

Dion of what he heard, or pretended to have heard, alleged against him in the army. By these means he obtained such confidence, that he was allowed to converse privately with whomsoever he thought proper, and to speak with the utmost freedom against Dion, in order to discover his secret enemies. Thus in a short time he found out, and drew together, all the seditious and discontented citizens; and, if any one of different principles informed Dion that his integrity had been tried, he gave himself no concern about it, as that point had already been settled with Callippus.

While this conspiracy was on foot, Dion had a monstrous and dreadful apparition. As he was meditating one evening alone in the portico before his house, he heard a sudden noise, and turning about perceived (for it was not yet dark) a woman of gigantic size at the end of the portico, in the form of one of the Furies, as they are represented on the theatre, sweeping the floor with a broom. In his terror and amazement he sent for some of his friends, and informing them of this prodigy, desired they would stay with him during the night; as his mind was in the utmost disorder, and he was apprehensive, if they left him, that the spectre would again make it's appearance: but he saw it no more. Soon after this his only son, who was now almost grown up to manhood, upon some childish displeasure or frivolous affront, threw himself from the top of the house, and was killed upon the spot[52].

While Dion was in this distress, Callippus was forwarding the conspiracy; and for this purpose he propagated a report in Syracuse that Dion, being now childless, had determined to adopt Dionysius' son Apollocrates, who was nephew to his wife and

[52] This, Plutarch would seem to insinuate, was connected with the story of the apparition, which was now beginning to 'sweep' off the inhabitants of his house. But Cornelius Nepos simply represents the dissipated young man, as having leaped out of the window to escape from his father's severity.

grandson to his sister. The plot however was now suspected both by Dion, his wife, and his sister, and accounts of it were brought to him from all quarters. Dion, who had stained his honour and tarnished his glories by the murther of Heraclides, had (as we may suppose) his distresses and anxieties on that account; and frequently declared, that rather than live not only in fear of his enemies but in suspicion of his friends, he would die a thousand deaths, and freely open his bosom to the assassin.

When Callippus found the women inquisitive and suspicious, he was afraid of the consequence, and asserted with tears his own integrity, offering to give them any pledge of his fidelity they might desire. They required that he would take the Great Oath, the form of which is as follows: the person who takes it goes down into the temple of the Thesmophori[53], where after the performance of some religious ceremonies, he puts on the purple robe of Proserpine, and holding a flaming torch in his hand, proceeds to the oath. All this Callippus did without hesitation, and to show in what contempt he held the goddess, he appointed the day of her festival for the execution of his conspiracy. He could hardly think indeed that even this would enhance his guilt, or render him more obnoxious to the goddess, when he was the very person, who had before initiated Dion in her sacred Mysteries.

The conspiracy was now supported by numbers; and as Dion was surrounded by his friends, in the apartment where he usually entertained them, the conspirators invested the house, some securing the doors and others the windows. The assassins, who were Zacynthians, entered in their ordinary dress unarmed. Those, who remained without, fastened the doors. The Zacynthians then seized Dion, and endeavoured to strangle him; but, not succeeding in this, they called for a sword. No one however

[53] Ceres and Proserpine.*

durst open the door, as Dion had many friends about him; yet they had in effect nothing to fear from them, each of them concluding, that by giving up Dion he should consult his own safety. When they had waited some time, Lycon, a Syracusan, put a short sword through the window into the hands of a Zacynthian; who fell upon Dion, already stunned and senseless, and cut his throat like a victim at the altar. His sister, and his wife who was pregnant, they imprisoned. In this unhappy situation she fell in labour, and was delivered of a son, whom they ventured to preserve; Callippus being too much embroiled by his own affairs to attend to them, and the keepers of the prison having been prevailed upon to connive at it.

After Dion was cut off, and Callippus had the whole government of Syracuse in his hands, he had the presumption to write to the Athenians, whom next to the gods he ought of all others to have dreaded, polluted as he was with the murther of his benefactor. But it has been observed with great truth of that state, that it's good men are the best, and it's bad men the worst in the world; as it's soil produces the finest honey [54], and the most fatal poisons. Callippus' success, however, did not long reproach the indulgence of the gods: he soon received the punishment, which he deserved. For, in attempting to take Catana, he lost Syracuse; upon which occasion he said, that he had lost a city, and gained a cheese-grater [55]. Afterward, at the siege of Messana, most of his men were cut off, and among the rest Dion's murtherers. As he was refused admission by every city in Sicily, and universally hated and despised, he passed into Italy, and made himself master of Rhegium; where being no longer able to maintain his soldiers, he was slain by

[54] On mount Hymettus.*

[55] But the Greek word signifying 'a cheese-grater' is not *Catane*, but *Patane*, which might however be vulgarly pronounced like the other.

Leptines and Polyperchon, with the very sword with which Dion had been assassinated, for it was known by it's size (being short, like the Spartan swords), and by it's curious workmanship. Thus Callippus received the punishment due to his crimes.

When Aristomache and Arete were released out of prison, they were received by Icetes a Syracusan, a friend of Dion's, who for some time entertained them with hospitality and good faith. Afterward however, being prevailed upon by Dion's enemies, he put them on board a vessel, under pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus; but giving private orders at the same time to the sailors to assassinate them in the passage, and throw their bodies overboard. Others say, that they and the infant were thrown alive into the sea. This wretch, likewise, paid the forfeit of his villainy: for he was put to death by Timoleon; and the Syracusans, to revenge Dion, slew his two daughters, of which I have made more particular mention in the Life of Timoleon.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

THE LIFE OF BRUTUS.

SUMMARY.

Birth and education of Brutus. His family by the father's and mother's side. He attaches himself to the Old Academy; accompanies his uncle Cato to Cyprus; and in the civil war sides with Pompey. Cæsar orders his officers to spare him, and receives him courteously. He is appointed governor of Cisalpine Gaul, and prætor of the city: is suspected by Cæsar. Engages in a conspiracy against him; animated by private intimations from several quarters, and determined by Cassius. They gain Ligarius, and other friends: Labeo and Albinus join their party. Brutus' wife, Porcia, proves her competency to the secret. The execution fixed for the Ides of March. Many alarming accidents. Brutus, informed that his wife is dead, remains in the senate-house. Læna's conversation with Cæsar disconcerts the conspirators. Cæsar assassinated. Brutus opposes the murther of Antony, who at first takes their part; but afterward, by reading Cæsar's will to the people, rouses the public indignation against the assassins. Brutus leaves Rome, and orders the shows to be exhibited in his absence. Octavius arrives at Rome. Brutus retires into Lucania. Porcia's grief upon the occasion. He goes to Athens, and begins to levy troops, which daily gather strength. His illness from cold. He defeats Caius, the brother of Antony, and takes him prisoner. Octavius is reconciled to Antony. Second triumvirate, and proscription. Brutus in revenge puts Caius to death. Parallel of Brutus and Cassius. Eulogy on Brutus. His sense of honour. Cassius takes Rhodes. Brutus besieges Xanthus. The Lycians,

in despair, set fire to their city. The moderation of Brutus gains him several other cities. He puts to death Theodotus, who had recommended the murther of Pompey in Egypt. Quarrels with Cassius. Adventure of Favonius. Brutus' rigour in seeing the laws fulfilled. He offends Cassius. Apparition, and Cassius' speech upon it. They march against Cæsar and Antony, at Philippi. Cassius, moved by some prodigies, wishes to defer the engagement, but Brutus refuses. Their conversation before the battle. The right wing, under Brutus, gains a considerable advantage; but the left, under Cassius, is entirely defeated. A fatal mistake. Cassius surrounded: his troops disperse. He orders his freedman to kill him. Brutus' lamentation over his body. He collects his scattered forces; but is distressed by the disposition of the soldiery: deviates, in one instance, from his accustomed justice. Cæsar and Antony hazard a second battle. The spectre reappears to Brutus; who is defeated. Lucilius offers himself to the pursuers as Brutus, and is carried to Antony. Brutus sends Statilius to visit his camp: kills himself. Honours paid by Antony to his remains. Death of Porcia.

THE great progenitor of Marcus Brutus was that Junius Brutus, to whom the ancient Romans erected a statue of brass, and placed it in the Capitol among their kings. He was represented with a drawn sword in his hand, to signify the spirit and firmness, with which he vanquished the Tarquins: but hard-tempered like the steel of which that sword was composed, and in no degree humanised by education, the same obdurate severity which impelled him against the tyrant, shut up his natural affection from his children, when he found them conspiring for the support of tyranny. On the contrary that Brutus, whose Life we are now writing, had all the advantages arising from the cultivation of philosophy. To his spirit, which was naturally sedate and mild, he gave activity by constant application. Upon the whole, he seems to have been happily formed to virtue. Even the partisans of Cæsar ascribed to him

every thing, which had the appearance of honour or generosity in the conspiracy, whereas all that was of a contrary complexion was laid to the charge of Cassius; who was indeed the friend and relation of Brutus, but by no means resembled him in the purity and simplicity of his manners. It is universally allowed, that his mother Servilia was descended from Servilius Ahala, who when Spurius Mælius seditiously aspired to the monarchy, went up to him in the Forum under a pretence of business, and as Mælius inclined his head to hear what he would say, stabbed him with a dagger which he had concealed for that purpose[1]. But those, who were ill affected toward him on account of his participation in Cæsar's murther, would not allow that he was descended from Junius Brutus, whose family they said was extinct with his two sons[2]. Marcus Brutus (according to them) was a plebeian, descended from one Brutus, a steward of mean extraction; and the family had but lately risen to any dignity in the state. On the contrary, Posidonius the philosopher agrees with those historians, who state that Junius Brutus had a third son, an infant when his brothers were put to death, and that from him Marcus Brutus was descended. He farther informs us, that there were several illustrious persons of that family in his time, with whom he was well acquainted, and who very

[1] Livy (iv. 14.) and other historians relate this affair in a different manner. Some of them confidently assert, that Servilius, who was then general of the horse, put Mælius to death by order of Cincinnatus the dictator.

[2] Of this number is Dio, xliv. 14., and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, v. 3. The latter adduces the plebeianship of M. Brutus, here mentioned, as a satisfactory proof. But from Suet. (Aug. 2.) it appears that patrician families, e. g. the Octavian, sometimes became plebeian. The authority of Cicero is less valuable (Brut. 14., and Philipp. i. 6.), as his reverence for Brutus nearly amounted to idolatry, and he would naturally assign him the most illustrious extraction he could.

Tunc licet à Pico numeres genus. (Juv. viii. 131.)*

much resembled the statue of Junius Brutus[3]. But enough upon this subject.

Cato the philosopher was brother to Servilia, the mother of Brutus, who greatly admired and imitated his uncle's virtues, and married his daughter Porcia.

Brutus was acquainted with all the sects of the Greek philosophers, and understood their doctrines; but the Platonists ranked highest in his esteem. He had no favourable opinion either of the New, or of the Middle Academy; but applied himself wholly to the studies of the Old one[4]. Antiochus of Ascalon was therefore his favourite, and he entertained his brother Ariston in his own house; a man who, though inferior to some of the philosophers in learning, was equal to the first of them in modesty, prudence, and gentleness of manners. Empylus, who likewise lived with Brutus (as we find from his own Epistles, and in those of his friends), was an orator, and left a short but well-written narrative of the death of Cæsar, entitled 'Brutus.'

Brutus spoke with great ability in Latin, both in the field and at the bar. In Greek, he affected the sententious and laconic way: of this there are several instances in his Epistles. Thus, in the beginning of the war, he wrote to the Pergamenians; "I hear "you have given money to Dolabella. If you gave "it willingly, you must own that you injured me;

3 There were several distinguished persons of this family, A. U. C. 558; some of whom opposed the abrogation of the Oppian law, and were besieged by the Roman women in their houses. (Liv. xxxiv. i., Val. Max. ix. 1. 3.)

4 The Old Academy, instituted properly by Socrates, was successively governed by Plato, his nephew Speusippus, Xenocrates, and Polemo. The Second, or Middle, owed it's origin to Arcesilas, who was succeeded by Lacydes, Evander, Hegesinus, and Carneades. By this last was founded that called the New; and he was followed by Clitomachus, Philo, and Antiochus of Ascalon. For some account of the latter, see the Life of Cicero, Vol. V.; and for his brother, Cic. Acad. i. 3., Brut. 97. The three jointly reach from the time of Socrates down to that of Augustus, and comprehend upward of three hundred years.*

"if unwillingly, prove it by giving willingly to me." And again, upon another occasion, to the Samians; "Your deliberations are tedious, your actions slow: "what, think you, will be the consequence?" Of the Patareans[5] thus; "The Xanthians rejected my "kindness, and desperately made their country their "grave. The Patareans confided in me, and re-"tained their liberty. It is in your own choice to "imitate the prudence of the Patareans, or to suffer "the fate of the Xanthians." And such is the stile of his most remarkable letters.

While he was yet very young, he accompanied Cato to Cyprus, in the expedition against Ptolemy[6]. After Ptolemy had killed himself, Cato, being detained by business in the isle of Rhodes, sent Caninius to secure the king's treasure; but suspecting his fidelity, he wrote to Brutus to sail immediately to Cyprus from Pamphylia, where after a fit of sickness he was then staying for the re-establishment of his health. This order he obeyed with reluctance, both out of respect to Caninius, who was thus superseded with disgrace, and because he thought the employment servile and illiberal, and by no means proper for a young man engaged in the pursuit of philosophy. Nevertheless, he executed the commission with such diligence, that he obtained Cato's approbation; and, having converted Ptolemy's effects into ready money, he brought the greatest part of it to Rome.

When Rome was divided into two factions, and Pompey and Cæsar were in arms against each other, it was generally believed that Brutus would join

[5] Patarea was a city of Lycia, on the northern coast of Asia Minor, and to the east of the mouth of the Xanthus. Ptolemy Philadelphus, by whom it was considerably augmented, called it 'Arsinoe of Lycia,' after the name of his wife; but the old denomination was soon restored. (Strabo, xiv.) Xanthus, the city mentioned below, stood higher up on the other side.*

[6] See the Life of Cato, V. 85. In that Life, Caninius is always called Canidius.*

Cæsar, because his father had been put to death by Pompey[7]. Brutus however thought it his duty to sacrifice his resentments to the interest of his country, and judging Pompey's to be the better cause, joined his party; though before he would not even salute that general when he met him, esteeming it a crime to hold any conversation with the murtherer of his father. But he now regarded him as the head of the commonwealth; and therefore, listing under his banner, he sailed for Sicily as lieutenant to Sestius, who was governor of the island. There, however, he found no opportunity of distinguishing himself; and being informed that Pompey and Cæsar were encamped near each other, and preparing for the battle which was to decide the fate of the empire, he hastened into Macedon to take his share in the danger. This measure, it is said, so much surprised and delighted Pompey, that he rose to embrace him in the presence of his guards, and treated him with as much respect as if he had been his superior. During the time that he was in camp, those hours which he did not spend with Pompey, he employed in reading and study; and thus he passed the day before the battle of Pharsalia. It was the middle of summer, the heats were intense, the marshy situation of the camp disagreeable, and his tent-bearers were long in coming. Nevertheless, though extremely harassed and fatigued, he did not anoint himself till noon; and then taking a morsel of bread, while others were at rest, or musing on the event of the ensuing day, he employed himself till the evening in writing an epitome of Polybius.

Cæsar, it is recorded, had so high an esteem for him, that he ordered his officers by all means to spare him, if he chose to surrender himself; and, if he refused, to let him escape with his life. Some have placed this kindness to the account of his mother

[7] See the Life of Pompey, IV. 143.

Servilia, with whom Cæsar had had connexions of a tender nature in the early part of his life[8]. Besides, as this amour was at its acmè about the time when Brutus was born, Cæsar had some reason to believe that he might be his son. The intrigue was notorious. When the senate was debating upon the dangerous conspiracy of Catiline, Cato and Cæsar, who took different sides of the question, happened to sit near each other. In the midst of the business, a note was brought to Cæsar from without, which he read silently to himself: upon this, Cato loudly accused Cæsar of receiving letters from the enemies of the commonwealth; and Cæsar, finding that it had occasioned a disturbance in the senate, delivered the note to Cato as he had received it. Cato, when he found it to be nothing but a lewd letter from his own sister Servilia, threw it back again to Cæsar: "Take it, you sot," said he, and went on with the public business.

After the battle of Pharsalia, when Pompey had fled toward the sea and Cæsar was storming the camp, Brutus escaped through one of the gates, and fled into a watery marsh, where he hid himself among the reeds. Thence he ventured out in the night, and got safe to Larissa[9]. From Larissa he wrote to Cæsar, who expressed the greatest pleasure in hearing of his safety, sent for him, and entertained him among the first of his friends. When no one could give any account which way Pompey was fled, Cæsar walked for some time alone with Brutus, to explore his opinion; and finding that he supposed it was to Egypt, he disregarded the suggestions of the rest, and directed his march for that country. Pompey

[8] These connexions were well known. Cæsar made her a present, upon a certain occasion, of a pearl which cost him nearly 50,000l. In the civil wars, he assigned to her a confiscated estate for a mere trifle; and when the people expressed their surprise at it's cheapness, Cicero said humorously, *Quo meliùs emptam sciatis, tertia deducta est.* Tertia was a daughter of Servilia's, and *deducta* was a term in the procuring business.

[9] A city in Thessaly.*

had indeed taken the route of Egypt, as Brutus conjectured, but he had already met his fate.

Brutus had so much influence with Cæsar, that he reconciled him to his friend Cassius; and when he spoke in behalf of the king of Africa, though there were many impeachments against him, he obtained for him a considerable part of his kingdom[10]. On opening his speech upon this occasion, Cæsar said; "I know not what this young man intends, but "whatever it is, he intends it strongly." His mind was steady, and not easily moved by entreaties. His principles were reason and honour, and the ends to which these directed him he prosecuted with so much vigour, that he seldom failed of success. No flattery could induce him to attend to unjust petitions; and though that ductility of mind, which may be wrought upon by the impudence of importunity, is by some called good-nature, he considered it as the greatest disgrace. He used to say, that he suspected those, who could refuse no favours, had not very honestly employed the flower of their youth.

Cæsar, previously to his expedition into Africa against Cato and Scipio, appointed Brutus to the government of Cisalpine Gaul: and this was very fortunate for that particular province. For, while the inhabitants of other provinces were oppressed and treated like slaves by the violence and rapacity of their governors, Brutus behaved with so much kindness to the people under his jurisdiction, that they were in some measure indemnified for their former sufferings. Yet he ascribed every thing to the goodness of Cæsar; and it was no small gratification to the latter to find, upon his return through Italy, not only Brutus himself, but all the cities under his command, ready to attend his progress and industrious to do him honour.

As there were several prætorships vacant, it was

[10] Plutarch must here be mistaken. It was Deiotarus, king of Galatia, and not the king of Africa, for whom Brutus pleaded. See Cic. Ep. ad Att. iv. 1.

the general opinion that the chief of them, the prætorship of the city, would be conferred upon either Brutus or Cassius. Some say, that this competition heightened the variance, which had already taken place between them; for such there was, though Cassius was allied to Brutus by having married his sister Junia. Others however affirm, that this competition was a political manœuvre of Cæsar's, who by privately favouring both their hopes, had encouraged their mutual hostility. Be that as it may, Brutus had little more than the reputation of his virtue to set against the gallant actions, which had been achieved by Cassius in the Parthian war. Cæsar weighed the merits of each; and after consulting with his friends, "Cassius," said he, "has the better "title to the first prætorship; but Brutus must have "it, notwithstanding." Another prætorship was therefore given to Cassius; but he was less obliged by this, than offended by the loss of the first.

Brutus had, or at least might have had, equal influence with Cæsar in every thing else: he might have stood the first in interest with him, if he had not been drawn off and turned aside by Cassius' party. Not that he was perfectly reconciled to Cassius, since their competition for the prætorial appointments; but he listened to his friends, who were perpetually advising him, instead of being soothed or cajoled by Cæsar, to reject the civilities of a tyrant, whose object was not to reward but to disarm his virtue. On the other hand, Cæsar had his suspicions, and Brutus his accusers; yet the former thought he had less to fear from his spirit, his authority, and his connexions, than he had to hope from his honesty. When he was told, that Antony and Dolabella had some dangerous conspiracy on foot; "It is not," said he, "the sleek and fat men that I "fear, but the pale and the lean*;" meaning Brutus and Cassius. Afterward, when he was advised to

* See the Life of Antony, Vol. V.*

beware of Brutus, he laid his hand upon his breast, and said; "Don't you think, then, that Brutus will "wait, till I have done with this poor body?" as if he thought Brutus the only proper person to succeed him in his immense power. It is extremely probable indeed that Brutus would have been the first man in Rome, could he have had patience to remain awhile the second, and have stayed till time had wasted the power of Cæsar, and dimmed the lustre of his great actions. But Cassius, a man of violent passions, and an enemy to Cæsar rather from personal than political hatred, still urged him against the dictator. It was universally observed, that Brutus hated the imperial power, and Cassius the emperor. Cassius, indeed, pretended that Cæsar had injured him: he complained, that the lions which he had procured when he was nominated ædile, and which he had sent to Megara, Cæsar had converted to his own use, having found them in that city when it was taken by Calanus. Those lions, it is stated, were very fatal to the inhabitants; for as soon as their city was taken, they opened their dens and unchained them in the streets, to stop the irruption of the foe; instead of which, they fell upon the citizens, and tore them so dreadfully, that their very enemies were struck with pity. Some affirm, that this was the principal motive with Cassius for conspiring against Cæsar; but they are strangely mistaken. Cassius had a natural hatred of the whole race of tyrants, which he showed even when he was at school with Faustus the son of Sylla. As Faustus was one day boasting among the boys of the unlimited power of his father, Cassius rose and struck him on the face. The friends and tutors of Faustus would have taken upon themselves to punish the insult; but Pompey prevented it, and sending for the boys examined them himself. Upon which Cassius said, "Come along, Faustus! and repeat, if "you dare, before Pompey the expressions which "provoked me, that I may again strike you on the "face." Such was the disposition of Cassius.

But Brutus was animated to this undertaking by the persuasion of his friends, by private intimations, and by anonymous letters. Under the statue of his ancestor, who destroyed the Tarquins, was placed a paper with these words: "O that we had a Brutus now!" And "O that Brutus were now alive!" His own tribunal, upon which he sat as prætor, was continually filled with such inscriptions as these: "Brutus, thou sleepest! thou art not a true Brutus!" Cæsar's sycophants were the occasion of this; for, among other invidious distinctions which they paid him, they crowned his statues by night, that the people might salute him king instead of dictator. This however, as I have shown more at large in the Life of Cæsar, had a contrary effect.

When Cassius solicited his friends to engage in the conspiracy, they all consented, on condition that Brutus would take the lead; concluding, that it was not strength of hands or resolution which they wanted, but the countenance of a man of reputation like him to preside at this sacrifice, and by his very participation to justify the deed. They were sensible, that without him they should neither proceed with spirit, nor escape suspicion when they had effected their purpose: as the world, they knew, would infer that if the action had been honourable, Brutus would not have refused to be concerned in it. Cassius, having considered these things, determined to pay Brutus the first visit, after the quarrel that had been between them; and when the compliments of reconciliation were over, he asked him, whether he intended to be in the senate on the calends of March; as "it was reported," he said, "that "Cæsar's friends designed to move, that he should "be declared king." Brutus answered, he should not be there: upon which Cassius demanded, "But "what, if they should send for us?" "It would "then," replied Brutus, "be my duty, not only to "speak against it, but to sacrifice my life for the "liberties of Rome." Cassius, encouraged by this,

proceeded; "But what Roman will bear to see you "die? Don't you know yourself, Brutus? Think "you that those inscriptions, which you found on "your tribunal, were placed there by weavers and "victuallers, and not by the first and greatest men "in Rome? From other prætors they look for pre-"sents, and shows, and gladiators; but from you "they claim the abolition of tyranny, as a debt "which your family has entailed upon you. They "are ready to suffer every thing on your account, "if you are really what you ought to be, and what "they expect you to be." After this he embraced him, and being perfectly reconciled, they retired to their respective friends.

In Pompey's party there was one Quintus Ligarius, whom Cæsar had pardoned, though he had borne arms against him. This man, less grateful for the pardon which he had received, than offended at the power which had made him stand in need of it, hated Cæsar, but was the intimate friend of Brutus. The latter one day visited him, and finding him unwell, said, "O Ligarius! what a time is this to be sick?" Upon which he raised himself on his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, answered; "If Brutus "has any design worthy of himself, Ligarius is well." They now sounded the inclinations of all whom they could trust, and took into the conspiracy not only their familiar friends, but such as they knew to be brave and above the fear of death. For this reason, though they had the highest regard for Cicero, and the utmost confidence in his principles as a republican, they concealed the conspiracy from him; lest his natural timidity, increased by the wariness of age[11], and estimating every individual step with a view to the greatest possible security, should retard those measures which required the most resolute despatch.

Brutus likewise thought proper to leave his friends

[11] He was now sixty-three years of age, B. C. 44.*

Statilius and Favonius, the followers of Cato, out of the conspiracy. He had tried their sentiments under the colour of a philosophical dispute, in which Favonius observed, that the worst absolute government was preferable to a civil war; and Statilius added, that it did not become a wise or sensible man to expose himself to fear and danger, on account of the faults and follies of others. But Labeo, who was present, contradicted both: and Brutus, though he was silent at that time, as if the dispute had been difficult to determine, communicated the design subsequently to Labeo, who readily concurred in it. It was then agreed to gain over the other Brutus, surnamed Albinus, who though not distinguished by his personal courage or activity, derived considerable importance from the number of gladiators whom he bred for the public shows, and the entire confidence that Cæsar reposed in him. To the solicitations of Cassius and Labeo, however, he made no answer; but when he came privately to Brutus, and found that he was at the head of the conspiracy, he made no scruple of joining them. The name of Brutus drew in many more of the most eminent persons of the state; and though they had entered into no oath of secrecy, they kept the conspiracy so close, that notwithstanding the gods themselves denounced the event by visions and a variety of other prodigies, no one would give any credit to it.

Brutus now felt his consequence lie heavy upon him. The safety of some of the principal men in Rome depended upon his conduct, and he could not think of the danger, which they were about to encounter, without anxiety. In public, indeed, he suppressed his uneasiness; but at home, and especially by night, he was not the same man. Sometimes, he would start from his sleep; at others, he was totally immersed in thought. From these and similar circumstances it was obvious to his wife, as they slept together, that he was full of unusual cares, and was revolving in his mind some difficult and

dangerous enterprise. Porcia, as we before observed, was the daughter of Cato. She had been married to her cousin Brutus very young, though she was then a widow, and had a son named Bibulus after his father. There is a small tract of his still extant, called 'Memoirs of Brutus.' Porcia to the affection of a wife added the prudence of a woman, who was not unacquainted with philosophy; and she resolved to forbear inquiring into her husband's secrets, before she had made the following trial of her own firmness: She ordered all her attendants out of her apartment, and with a small knife gave herself a deep wound in the thigh. This occasioned a great effusion of blood, violent pain, and a fever in consequence. While Brutus, who was extremely afflicted for her, was attending her in the height of her suffering, she thus spoke to him: "When you married Cato's daughter, "Brutus, you did not I presume consider her merely "as a female companion, but as the partner of all "your fortunes. You, indeed, have given me no "reason to repent my marriage: but what proof, "either of affection or fidelity, can you receive from "me, if I am to share neither in your secret griefs "nor in your private counsels! I am sensible, that "secrecy is not the characteristic virtue of my sex: "but surely our natural weakness may be strength-"ened by a virtuous education, and by honourable "connexions; and Porcia can boast that she is the "daughter of Cato, and the wife of Brutus. Yet "even in these distinctions I placed no absolute "confidence, till I had made an experiment, and "found that I was proof against pain." When she had said this, she showed him her wound, and informed him of her motives: upon which Brutus was so much surprised, that with lifted hands he entreated the gods to favour his enterprise, and enable him to approve himself worthy of Porcia. He then took every means to cure her wound, and to restore her to health.

A meeting of the senate being appointed, at which

Cæsar was expected to attend, that was thought a proper time for the execution of their design. For then they could not only appear together without suspicion, but as some of the most considerable persons in the commonwealth would be present, they flattered themselves that as soon as the deed was done, these would join in asserting the common liberty. The place too, where the senate was to meet, seemed providentially favourable for their purpose. It was a portico adjoining to the theatre, and in the midst of a saloon furnished with benches stood a statue of Pompey, which had been erected to him by the commonwealth, when he adorned that part of the city with these buildings. Here the senate was convened on the ides of March; and it seemed, as if some god was bringing Cæsar to this place, in order to avenge upon him Pompey's death.

When the day came, Brutus went out, and took with him a dagger, which last circumstance was known only to his wife. The rest met at Cassius' house, and conducted his son, who was that day to put on the Toga Virilis, to the Forum; whence they proceeded to Pompey's portico, and waited for Cæsar. Any one, who had been privy to the design of the conspirators, would now have been astonished at their tranquil and consistent firmness. Many of them were prætors, and obliged by their office to hear and determine causes. These they heard with so much calmness, and decided with so much accuracy, that no one could have supposed there had been any thing else upon their minds: and, when a certain person appealed with great clamour from the judgement of Brutus to Cæsar, Brutus looking round upon the assembly said; "Cæsar neither does, nor "shall, hinder me from acting agreeably to the "laws." Nevertheless, they were disturbed by many accidents. Though the day was far spent, still Cæsar did not arrive, being detained by his wife and the soothsayers on account of defects in the sacrifices. In the mean time a person came up to Casca, one of

the conspirators, and taking him by the hand, "You "concealed the thing from me," said he, "but "Brutus has told me all." Casca expressed his surprise; upon which the other said, laughing, "How came you to be so rich of a sudden, as to "stand for the ædileship?" So nearly was the great secret blown, by the ambiguity of this man's discourse! At the same time Popilius Læna a senator, after saluting Brutus and Cassius in a very obliging manner, said in a whisper; "My best wishes are "with you: but make no delay, for it is now no "secret." Upon which, he immediately went away, and left them in the utmost consternation, as they concluded that every thing was discovered. Soon after this, a messenger came running from Brutus' house, and told him that his wife was dying. Porcia had been under extreme anxiety, and in great agitation about the event. At every little noise or voice she started up and ran to the door, like one of the frantic priestesses of Bacchus, demanding of every one who came from the Forum, what Brutus was doing. She despatched messenger after messenger, to make the same inquiries; and, unable any longer to support the agony of her mind, at length sunk and fainted away. She had not time to retire to her chamber. As she sat in the middle of the house, her spirits failed, her colour changed, and she lost her senses and her speech. Her women shrieked, the neighbours ran to their assistance, and a report was soon spread through the city that Porcia was dead. By the care of those about her, however, in a short time she recovered. Brutus was naturally much distressed on the intelligence, but his private grief gave way to the public concern; for it was now reported, that Cæsar was coming on a litter. The ill omen of his sacrifices had deterred him from entering upon business of importance, and he proposed to defer it under a pretence of indisposition. As soon as he had left the litter, Popilius Læna, who a little before had wished Brutus success, went up

and spoke to him for a considerable time, Cæsar all the while standing and seeming very attentive. The conspirators (for so let them be stiled) not being able to hear what he said, suspected from what had passed between him and Brutus, that he was now making a disclosure of their design. This disconcerted them extremely, and looking upon each other they agreed by the silent language of the countenance, that they would not stay to be taken, but despatch themselves. With this intent, Cassius and some others were just about to draw their daggers from under their robes; when Brutus having inferred from Læna's looks and gestures, that he was petitioning and not accusing, encouraged Cassius by the cheerfulness of his countenance. This was the only way, in which he could communicate his sentiments, being surrounded by many that were strangers to the conspiracy. Læna, after a little while, kissed Cæsar's hand and left him; and it plainly appeared, upon the whole, that he had been speaking about his own private affairs.

The senate was already seated, and the conspirators, under pretence of preferring a suit to him, had crowded round Cæsar's chair. Cassius turned his face to Pompey's statue, and invoked it, as if it had been sensible of his prayers. Trebonius[12] detained Antony in conversation without the court. And now Cæsar entered, and the whole senate rose to salute him. The conspirators clustered about him, and set Tullius Cimber, one of their number, to solicit the recal of his brother who had been banished. In this solicitation they all united, clasping Cæsar's hand, and kissing his head and his breast. He rejected their applications, however, and finding that they would not desist, at length rose from his seat in anger. Tullius upon this laid hold of his robe,

[12] This, though different from Plutarch's former account in the Life of Cæsar, IV. 434. (in which he informs us, that Antony was detained by Brutus Albinus), is the more accurate statement. See Cic. Philipp. ii., and xiii.*

and pulled it from his shoulders. Casca, who stood behind, gave him the first (though but a slight) wound with his dagger, near the shoulder. Cæsar caught the handle of the dagger, and said in Latin, "Villain! Casca! What dost thou mean?" Casca, in Greek, called his brother to his assistance. Cæsar was wounded by numbers almost at the same instant, and looked round him for some way to escape; but when he saw Brutus' dagger pointed against him, he let go Casca's hand, and covering his head with his robe, resigned himself to their swords. The conspirators pressed so eagerly to stab him, that they even wounded each other. Brutus, in attempting to have his share in the sacrifice, received a cut in his hand, and all of them were covered with blood.

Cæsar thus slain, Brutus stepped forward into the middle of the senate-house, and proposing to make a speech, desired the senators to stay. They fled however with the utmost precipitation, though no one pursued, the conspirators having no design upon any life, but that of Cæsar: that taken away, they invited the rest to liberty. All but Brutus indeed were of opinion, that Antony ought to fall with Cæsar; as an insolent man, who in his principles favoured monarchy, and who had rendered himself popular in the army. Moreover, beside his natural disposition to despotism, he had at this time the consular power, and was Cæsar's collegue. Brutus, on the other hand, alleged the injustice of such a measure, and suggested the possibility of Antony's change of principle. He thought it far from improbable that, after the destruction of Cæsar, a man so passionately fond of glory would be inspired by an emulation to join in restoring the commonwealth. Thus Antony was saved; though, in the general consternation, he had fled in the disguise of a plebeian. Brutus and his party betook themselves to the Capitol, and showing their bloody hands and naked swords, proclaimed liberty to the people as they passed. At first all was lamentation, distrac-

tion, and anarchy: but as no farther violence was committed, the senators and people recovered their apprehensions, and went in a body to the conspirators in the Capitol. Brutus made a popular speech adapted to the occasion; and, this being well received, his party were encouraged to come down into the Forum. The rest were undistinguished; but persons of the first quality attended Brutus, conducted him with great honour from the Capitol, and placed him in the Rostrum. At the sight of Brutus the populace, though disposed to tumult, were struck with reverence; and, when he began to speak, they attended with silence. It soon appeared however that it was not the action, but the man, that they respected; for when Cinna spoke and accused Cæsar, they loaded him with the most opprobrious language, and became so outrageous, that the conspirators thought proper once more to retire into the Capitol. Brutus now expected to be besieged, and therefore dismissed the principal people that attended him; as he thought it unreasonable that they, who had had no concern in the action, should be exposed to the danger connected with it. Next day, the senate assembled in the temple of Tellus; and Antony, Plancus, and Cicero, in their respective speeches, persuaded and prevailed upon the people to consent to an amnesty. Accordingly, not only the conspirators were pardoned, but it was decreed that the consul should take into consideration what honours were proper to be conferred upon them. After this, the senate broke up; and Antony having sent his son as a hostage to the Capitol, Brutus and his party came down, and mutual compliments passed between them. Cassius was invited to sup with Antony, and Brutus with Lepidus, and the rest were entertained by their respective friends.

Early the following morning the senate re-assembled, and voted thanks to Antony for having prevented a civil war, as well as to Brutus and his party for their services to the commonwealth. The latter

had, also, provinces distributed among them. Crete was allotted to Brutus, Africa to Cassius, Asia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimber, and the other Brutus had that part of Gaul which borders on the Po.

Cæsar's will, and his funeral, came next in question. Antony proposed, that the will should be read in public; and that the funeral should not be private, or without proper magnificence, lest such treatment should exasperate the people. This, Cassius strongly opposed; but Brutus agreed to it, and here he fell into a second error. His preservation of so great and formidable an enemy to the conspiracy as Antony was a gross mistake, but his giving up the management of the funeral to him was irreparable. The publication of the will had an immediate tendency to inspire the people with a passionate regret for Cæsar's death; for he had left to each Roman citizen seventy-five drachmas, beside the public use of his gardens beyond the Tiber, where now the temple of Fortune stands. When the body was brought into the Forum, and Antony spoke the usual funeral eulogium, as he perceived the people affected by his speech, he endeavoured still more to work upon their passions, by unfolding the bloody garment of Cæsar; showing them in how many places it had been pierced, and pointing out the number of his wounds. This threw every thing into confusion. Some called aloud to kill the murtherers; others, as had formerly been done in the case of the seditious demagogue Clodius [13], snatched the benches and tables from the neighbouring shops, and erected a pile for the body in the midst of consecrated places, and surrounding temples. As soon as the pile was in flames, the people crowding from all parts snatched the half-burnt brands, and ran

[13] See the Life of Cicero, Vol. V. To this Cicero alludes, in his Orat. pro Milone, 13; and a farther account of it is given by Asconius Pedianus, in his Argument to that speech. The whole of Antony's address is admirably amplified by our own Shakspeare, in his Julius Cæsar, iii. 2.*

round the city to set on fire the houses of the conspirators: but they were on their guard against such an assault, and prevented the effects.

There was a poet named Cinna [14], who had had no concern in the conspiracy, but was rather a friend of Cæsar's. This man dreamed, that Cæsar invited him to supper; and that on his declining the invitation, he took him by the hand, and constrained him to follow him into a dark and deep place, which he entered with the utmost horror. The agitation of his spirits threw him into a fever, which lasted the remaining part of the night. In the morning however, when Cæsar was to be interred, he was ashamed of absenting himself from the solemnity: he therefore mingled with the multitude, recently inflamed as it was by Antony's speech; and being unfortunately mistaken for that Cinna, who had before inveighed against Cæsar, he was torn to pieces. This more than any thing, except Antony's change of conduct, alarmed Brutus and his party. They now thought it necessary to consult their safety, and retired to Antium [15]. Here they sat down, with an intent to return as soon as the popular fury should have subsided; and for this, considering the caprice and inconstancy of the multitude, they concluded that they should not have long to wait. The senate, moreover, was in their interest; and though they did not punish Cinna's murtherers, they had caused strict inquiry to be made after those, who had attempted to burn the houses of the conspirators. Antony, likewise, became obnoxious to the people; for they suspected him of seeking to erect another kind of monarchy. The return of Brutus was, consequently, much desired; and, as he was to exhibit shows and games in his capacity of prætor, it was

[14] Helvius Cinna, at that time tribune of the people (Dio, xliv. 50.), and mistaken for Cornelius Cinna the prætor, who was an accomplice in the plot.*

[15] A city near the sea, *hod.* Anzo Rovinato in the Campagna di Roma.*

expected. Brutus, however, had received intelligence that several of Cæsar's old soldiers, to whom he had distributed lands and colonies, had stolen by small parties into Rome, and there lay in wait for him: he, therefore, did not think proper to come himself. Notwithstanding this, the shows exhibited on his account were extremely magnificent; for he had bought a considerable number of wild beasts, and ordered that they should all be reserved without exception for that purpose. He went himself as far as Naples, to collect a number of comedians; and being informed of one Canutius, who was much admired upon the stage, he requested his friends to use all their interest to bring him to Rome. Canutius was a Grecian, and Brutus therefore thought that no compulsion ought to be used. He wrote likewise to Cicero, and begged that he would by all means be present at the public shows.

Such was the situation of his affairs, when upon Octavius' arrival at Rome things took a different turn. He was son to the sister[16] of Cæsar, who had adopted and appointed him his heir; and was pursuing his studies at Apollonia, with the expectation of meeting his uncle there on his intended expedition against the Parthians, at the time of his death. Upon hearing of this event, he immediately came to Rome, and in order to ingratiate himself with the people, assumed the name of Cæsar. By punctually distributing among the citizens the money, which had been bequeathed to them, he soon gained the ascendency over Antony; and, by his liberality to the soldiers, he attracted to his party the greatest number of those, who had served under Cæsar. Cicero likewise, who hated Antony, joined his interest: and this was so much resented by Brutus, that in his letters he reproached him in the severest terms. "He perceived," he said, "that Cicero was tame enough to bear a tyrant, and was only

[16] Rather 'the niece.' See the Life of Cicero, Vol. V, not. (120.)*

afraid of the tyrant who hated him; and that his compliments to Octavius were meant to purchase an easy slavery: but our ancestors," said Brutus, "scorned to bear even a gentle master. As to the measure of peace or war," he added, "he himself was undetermined; but upon one thing he had firmly resolved, which was, never to be a slave." He then expressed his surprise, "That Cicero should prefer an infamous accommodation even to the dangers of civil war; and that the only fruits, which he expected from destroying the tyranny of Antony, should be the establishment of a new tyrant in Octavius[17]." Such was the spirit of his first letters.

The city was now divided into two factions: some joined Cæsar, others remained with Antony, and the army was sold to the best bidder. Brutus, of course, despaired of any desirable event; and resolving to leave Italy, went by land to Lucania, and came to the maritime town of Elea. Porcia, being to return thence to Rome, endeavoured as well as possible to conceal the sorrow that oppressed her; but notwithstanding her magnanimity, a picture which she found there betrayed her distress. The subject was, the parting of Hector and Andromache. He was represented delivering his son Astyanax into her arms, and the eyes of Andromache were fixed upon him. The resemblance, which this picture bore to her own distress, made her burst into tears the moment she beheld it; and frequently every day she visited the melancholy emblem, to weep over it. Upon this occasion Acilius, one of Brutus' friends, repeated the passage in Homer, where Andromache says;

> Yet while my Hector still survives, I see
> My father, mother, brethren, all in thee[18].

To which Brutus replied with a smile, "But I

[17] See Cic. Ep. ad Brut. 16, 17.*
[18] Pope. Hom. Il. vi. 429., &c.*

MAHARAJA SERFO

"must not answer Porcia, as Hector did Andro-
"mache;

" ———Hasten to thy tasks at home,
" There guide the spindle, and direct the loom[19].

"She has not personal strength, indeed, to sustain "the toils which we undergo; but her spirit is not "less active in the cause of her country." This anecdote we have from Bibulus, Porcia's son.

From Elea Brutus sailed for Athens, where he was received with high applause, and invested with public honours. There he took up his residence with a particular friend, and attended the lectures of Theomnestus the Academic, and Cratippus the Peripatetic[20], devoting himself wholly to literary pursuits. Yet, in this unsuspected state, he was privately preparing for war. He despatched Herostratus into Macedon, to gain the principal officers in that province; and by his kindness he secured all the young Romans who were then students at Athens. Among these was the son of Cicero, upon whom he bestowed the highest encomiums; declaring, that he could never cease admiring the spirit of that young man, who bore such a mortal hatred to tyrants.

At length, he began to act more publicly; and hearing that some of the Roman ships laden with money were returning from Asia, under the command of a man of honour, a friend of his, he met him at Carystus a city of Eubœa. There he had a conference with him, and requested that he would surrender to him the ships. It happened to be his own birth-day, upon which occasion he gave a splendid entertainment, and while they were drinking 'Victory to Brutus and Liberty to Rome,' to encourage

[19] Pope. Hom. Il. vi. 491.*
[20] For some account of this philosopher see Cic. Off. i. 1., Ep. ad Fam. xvi. 21., and De Div. i. 3.*

the cause he called for a larger bowl. As he held it in his hand, without any visible relation to the subject they were upon, he pronounced this verse:

My fall was doom'd by Phœbus and by Fate[21].

Some historians affirm, that '*Apollo' was the parole issued to his soldiers in the last battle at Philippi, and of course conclude, that this exclamation was a presage of his defeat. Antistius, the commander of the ships, gave him five hundred thousand drachmas of the money, which he was carrying to Italy. The remains of Pompey's army, that were scattered about Thessaly, readily joined his standard; and beside these he took five hundred horse, whom Cinna was conducting to Dolabella in Asia. He then sailed to Demetrias[22], and seized a large quantity of arms, which Julius Cæsar had provided for the Parthian war, and which were now to be sent to Antony. Macedon was delivered up to him by Hortensius the prætor, and all the neighbouring princes readily offered their assistance. When information was brought that Caius, the brother of Antony, had traversed Italy to join the forces under Gabinius in Dyrrachium and Apollonia, Brutus determined to seize them before he arrived, and made a forced march with such troops as were at hand. The road was rugged, and the snow deep; but he moved with such expedition, that his suttlers were left a long way behind. When he had almost reached Dyrrachium, he was seized with a disorder called 'Bulimia' (or violent hunger), occasioned by cold and fatigue. This disorder affects both men and cattle after fatigues in the snow; whether it be that, perspiration being prevented by the extreme cold, the vital heat is confined, and more immediately consumes the aliment; or that a keen and subtile vapour rising from the melted snow penetrates the body, and destroys

[21] A line spoken by Patroclus to Hector, Hom. Il. xvi. 349.*
[22] A town in Thessaly, at the head of the bay of Pagasæ.*

the heat by expelling it through the pores: for the sweatings seem to arise from the heat contending with the cold, which being repelled by the latter, the vapoury steam is diffused over the surface of the body. But of this I have treated more largely in another place. Brutus growing very faint, and having no provisions, his servants were forced to go to the enemy's gates, and beg bread from the sentinels. These, on learning Brutus' distress, brought him meat and drink in their own hands; and in return for their humanity, when he had taken the city, he showed kindness both to them and to the rest of the inhabitants.

When Caius arrived in Apollonia, he summoned the soldiers quartered near the city to join him; but finding that they were all with Brutus, and suspecting that those in Apollonia favoured the same party, he proceeded to Buthrotus[23]. Brutus, however, found means to destroy three of his cohorts in their march. Caius after this attempted to seize some posts near Byllis, but was routed in a set battle by young Cicero, to whom Brutus had given the command of the army upon that occasion, and to whose generalship he was frequently indebted for success. Caius was soon afterward surprised in a marsh, whence he had no means to escape: and Brutus finding him in his power, surrounded him with his cavalry, and gave orders that none of his men should be killed; expecting, that they would quickly join him of their own accord. His expectation was justified by the event. They surrendered both themselves and their general; so that Brutus had now a very respectable army. He treated Caius for a long time with all possible respect; not divesting him of any of the ensigns of dignity which he bore, though he received letters (it is said) from several persons at

[23] Buthrotus (*hod.* Butrinto) was a city of Epirus, seated in a peninsula opposite Corfu, and held by a Roman colony. Byllis, mentioned below, was a maritime city in Illyria, founded by the Myrmidons under Neoptolemus. (Steph. de Urb.)*

Rome, and particularly from Cicero, advising him to put him to death. At length however, when he found that he was secretly intriguing with his officers and exciting seditions among the troops, he put him on board a ship, and kept him close prisoner. The soldiers whom he had corrupted retired into Apollonia, whence they sent to Brutus, that if he would visit them there, they would return to their duty. Brutus replied, "That this was not the custom of "the Romans; but that those who had offended, "should come in person to their general, and solicit "his forgiveness." They did so, and were pardoned.

He was now preparing to pass over into Asia, when he was informed of a change in affairs at Rome. Young Cæsar, abetted by the senate, had gained the ascendency over Antony and driven him out of Italy, but at the same time he began to be not less formidable himself; for he solicited the consulship contrary to law, and kept in pay an unnecessary army. The senate consequently, though they had at first supported, were now dissatisfied with his measures: and as they began to cast their eyes on Brutus, and decreed or confirmed several provinces to him, Cæsar was under some apprehensions. He therefore despatched messengers to Antony, and desired that a reconciliation might take place. After this he drew up his army round the city, and carried the consulship though but a boy, as he himself informs us in his Memoirs, in his twentieth year. He was no sooner consul, than he ordered a judicial process to issue against Brutus and his accomplices, for having without trial or condemnation murthered the first magistrate in Rome. Lucius Cornificius was appointed to accuse Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa, Cassius; and as neither of them appeared, the judges were obliged to pass sentence against both. It is said that when the crier, as usual, cited Brutus to appear, the people could not suppress their sighs; and persons of the first distinction heard it in silent

dejection. Publius Silicius[24] was observed to burst into tears; and this was the cause, why he was afterward proscribed. The triumvirs, Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus, being now reconciled, divided the provinces among them; and settled that list of assassination, in which two hundred citizens, and Cicero among the rest, were proscribed.

When the report of these proceedings was brought into Macedon, Brutus found himself under a necessity of despatching orders to Hortensius to kill Caius, the brother of Antony, in revenge of the deaths of Cicero his friend, aud Brutus Albinus his kinsman. This was the reason why Antony, when he had taken Hortensius at the battle of Philippi, slew him upon his brother's tomb. Brutus says, that he was more ashamed of the cause of Cicero's death, than grieved at the event; while he saw Rome enslaved rather by her own fault, than by that of her tyrants, and continuing a tame spectator of scenes, which ought not to have been heard of without horror.

Brutus' army was now considerable, and he ordered it's route into Asia, while a fleet was preparing in Bithynia and at Cyzicum. As he marched by land, he settled the affairs of the cities, and gave audience to the princes of the countries through which he passed. He sent directions likewise to Cassius, who was in Syria, to abandon his intended journey into Egypt, and join him. Upon this occasion he tells him, that their collecting forces to destroy the tyrants was for the purpose, not of securing an empire to themselves, but of delivering their fellow-citizens; that they should therefore never forget this prime object of their undertaking, but, adhering to their first intentions, keep Italy in their eye, and hasten to rescue their country from oppression.

Cassius accordingly set out to join him, and

[24] See Dion, xlvi. 49., who there calls him Silicius Coronas.*

Brutus at the same time making some progress to meet him, their interview took place at Smyrna. Till this meeting, they had not seen each other since they parted at the Piræus of Athens, when Cassius set out for Syria and Brutus for Macedon. The forces, which they had respectively assembled, gave them great joy, and made them confident of success. From Italy they had fled like solitary exiles, without money, without arms, without a ship, a soldier, or a town for shelter. Yet now, within so short a time, they found themselves supplied with shipping and money, with an army of horse and foot, and in a condition of contending for the empire of Rome. Cassius was no less respectful to Brutus, than Brutus was to him; but the latter would generally wait upon the former, as Cassius was the older man, and of the feebler constitution. Cassius was esteemed an able soldier, but of a fiery disposition, and ambitious to command rather by fear than affection; though at the same time with his familiar acquaintance he was easy in his manners, and fond of raillery to excess. Brutus on account of his virtue was respected by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by men of principle, and not hated even by his enemies. He was mild in his temper, and had a loftiness of mind superior to anger, avarice, and the love of pleasure: in his opinions, he was firm and inflexible, and zealous in every pursuit where justice or honour were concerned. The people had the highest opinion of his integrity and sincerity in every undertaking, and this naturally inspired them with confidence and affection. Even Pompey the Great scarcely ever had so much credit with them: for no one believed that, if he had conquered Cæsar, he would have submitted to the laws, and would not have retained his power under the title of consul or dictator, or some more specious and popular name. Cassius on the contrary, a man of violent passions and rapacious avarice, was suspected of exposing himself to toil and danger, rather from a

thirst of power, than an attachment to the liberties of Rome. The former disturbers of the commonwealth, Cinna, and Marius, and Carbo, evidently set their country as a stake for the winner, and hardly scrupled to own that they fought for empire. But the very enemies of Brutus never charge him with this. Even Antony has been heard to say, that Brutus was the only one of the conspirators, who had the sense of honour and justice for his motive, and that the rest were wholly actuated by malice or envy. It is clear likewise, from what Brutus himself remarks, that he finally and principally relied upon his own virtue. Thus he writes to Atticus, immediately before the engagement, "That his affairs were in the most desirable situation imaginable; as he should either conquer and restore liberty to Rome, or die and be free from slavery: that every thing else was reduced to certainty; and that this only remained a question, Whether they should live or die freemen?" He adds, that "Mark Antony was properly punished for his folly; who, when he might have ranked with the Bruti, the Cassii, and the Catos, chose rather to be the underling of Octavius: and that, if he did not fall in the approaching battle, they would very soon be at variance with each other." In which he seems to have been a true prophet.

While they were at Smyrna, Brutus desired Cassius to let him have part of the immense treasure which he had collected, because his own had been chiefly expended in equipping a fleet, to gain the superiority at sea. But from this the friends of Cassius dissuaded him, alleging that it would be absurd to give Brutus money saved with so much frugality, and acquired with so much envy, merely to enable him to increase his popularity, by distributing it among the soldiers. Cassius, however, gave him a third of what he had, and they then separated to their respective commands. Cassius behaved with great severity on the taking of Rhodes: though

when he first entered the city, and was saluted with the title of king and master, he answered; "That "he was neither their king nor their master, but "the chastiser and destroyer of him who would "have been both." Brutus demanded supplies of men and money from the Lycians; but Naucrates, a demagogue, persuaded the cities to rebel, and some of the inhabitants posted themselves on the hills with an intention of opposing his passage. Brutus at first despatched a party of horse, which surprised them at dinner, and killed six hundred of them. But afterward when he had taken the adjacent towns and villages, he gave up the prisoners without ransom, hoping to gain them to his party by clemency. Their former sufferings however made them reject his humanity, and those that still resisted, being driven into the city of Xanthus, were there besieged. As a river ran close by the town, several attempted to escape by swimming and diving; but they were prevented by nets let down for that purpose, which had little bells at the top, to give notice when any one was taken. After this the Xanthians made a sally in the night and set fire to several of the battering-engines; but they were perceived and repulsed by the Romans, and at the same time the violence of the winds drove the flames against the city, so that several houses near the battlements took fire. Brutus, apprehensive that the whole city would be destroyed, sent his own soldiers to assist the inhabitants in quenching the fire. But the Lycians were seized with an incredible despair, a kind of phrensy, which can no otherwise be described than by calling it a longing for death! Women and children, freemen and slaves, people of all ages and conditions, strove to drive back the soldiers as they came to their assistance from the walls. With their own hands they collected wood, and reeds, and all kinds of combustibles, in order to spread the fire throughout the city, and encouraged it's progress by all the means in their power. Thus assisted, the

flames flew over the whole with dreadful rapidity; while Brutus, extremely shocked at the disaster, rode round the walls, and stretching forth his hands to the inhabitants, implored them to spare themselves and their city: but, regardless of his entreaties, they strenuously persisted in putting an end to their lives. Men, women, and even children, with hideous cries leaped into the flames. Some threw themselves headlong from the walls, and others fell upon the swords of their parents, opening their breasts and begging to be slain.

When the city was nearly reduced to ashes a woman was found, who had hanged herself with her young child fastened to her neck, and the torch in her hand with which she had set fire to her house. This deplorable object so much affected Brutus, that he wept when he was told of it, and proclaimed a reward to any soldier who could save a Xanthian. It is said, however, that not more than a hundred and fifty were preserved, and those against their will. Thus the Xanthians, as if fate had appointed certain periods for their destruction, after a long course of years sunk into the same deplorable ruin, in which a similar impulse of rash despair had involved their ancestors in the Persian war; for they also burned their city, and destroyed themselves.

After this, when the Patareans likewise made resistance, Brutus was under great anxiety about besieging them; for he was afraid, they should follow the desperate measures of the Xanthians. Having some of their women however, whom he had taken prisoners, he dismissed them without ransom; and those returning to their husbands and parents, who happened to be people of the first distinction, so much extolled his justice and moderation, that they prevailed upon them to submit and surrender their city into his hands. The adjacent cities followed their example, and found that his humanity exceeded their hopes. Cassius had compelled every Rhodian to give up all the gold and silver in his

possession, by which he amassed eight thousand talents, and yet he laid the public under a fine of five hundred talents more; but Brutus took only a hundred and fifty talents from the Lycians, and without offering them any other injury, led his army into Ionia.

Brutus, in the course of this expedition, did many acts of justice; and was vigilant in the dispensation of rewards and punishments. An instance of this I shall relate, because both he himself, and every honest Roman, was particularly pleased with it: When Pompey the Great, after his overthrow at Pharsalia, fled into Egypt, and landed near Pelusium, the tutors and ministers of young Ptolemy consulted what measures they should take upon the occasion. But they differed in their opinions: some were for receiving him, others for shutting him out of Egypt. Theodotus, a Chian by birth and a teacher of rhetoric by profession, who then attended the king in that capacity, was for want of abler ministers admitted to the council. This man insisted, that they were all in the wrong; both those who were for admitting, and those who were for excluding Pompey. The best measure which they could adopt, he said, would be to put him to death; and he closed his speech with the proverb, 'Dead men do not bite*.' To this the council agreed; and Pompey the Great, an example of the incredible mutability of fortune, fell a sacrifice to the eloquent arguments of a sophist, as that sophist lived subsequently to boast. Not long afterward, upon Cæsar's arrival in Egypt, some of the murtherers received their proper reward, and were put to death: but Theodotus made his escape. Yet, though for a while he gained from fortune the poor privilege of a wandering and despicable existence, he fell at last into the hands of Brutus, as he was passing through Asia; and, by paying the forfeit of

* See the Life of Pompey, IV. 226 *

his baseness, became more memorable from his death, than from any thing in his life.

About this time, Brutus sent for Cassius to Sardis, and went with his friends to meet him. The whole army, being drawn up, saluted both the leaders with the title of Imperator. But as it usually happens in important affairs, where many friends and many officers are engaged, mutual complaints and suspicions arose between the two chieftains. To settle these more properly, they retired into an apartment by themselves. Expostulations, debates, and accusations ensued; and that to so high a degree, that they burst into tears. Their friends without were surprised at the loudness and asperity of the conference; but though they were apprehensive of the consequence, they durst not interfere, because they had been expressly forbidden to enter. Favonius however, an imitator of Cato, but rather enthusiastic than rational in his philosophy, attempted to go in. The servants in waiting endeavoured to prevent him, but it was not easy to stop his impetuosity. He was headstrong and violent in his whole conduct, and valued himself less upon his dignity as a senator, than upon a kind of cynical freedom in saying whatever he pleased; a character not unentertaining to those, who could bear with his impertinence. This man broke through the door, and rushed into the apartment, pronouncing in a theatrical tone what Nestor says in Homer,

Young men, be ruled; I'm older than you both[24].

Cassius laughed: But Brutus thrust him out, telling him that he pretended to be a cynic, but was in reality a dog[25]. This however terminated the dispute, and for that time they parted. Cassius gave an entertainment in the evening, to which Brutus

[24] Il. i. 259.*

[25] From κυων, 'a dog,' is derived the appellation of that class of snarling philosophists.*

invited his friends. When they were seated, Favonius came in from bathing. Brutus called aloud to him, telling him he was not invited, and bade him go to the end of the table. Favonius notwithstanding thrust himself in, and sat down in the middle[26]. Upon that occasion, there was much learning and good humour in the conversation.

The day following one Lucius Pella, who had been prætor and employed in offices of trust, being charged by the Sardians with having embezzled the public money, was disgraced and condemned by Brutus. This was extremely mortifying to Cassius, as a little while before he had acquitted two of his own friends accused of the same crime, and contenting himself with giving them a private reproof, continued them in office. Of course, he charged Brutus with too rigid and scrupulous an exertion of the laws, at a time when lenity was much more politic. Brutus on the other hand reminded him of the ides of March, the day when they had killed Cæsar, who was not (personally speaking) the scourge of mankind, but only abetted with his power those that were so. He bade him consider, that if the neglect of justice were in any case to be connived at, it should have been done before; and that they had better have borne with the oppressions of Cæsar's friends, than suffer the mal-practices of their own to pass with impunity: "For then," continued he, "we could have been blamed only for cowardice; "but now, after all we have undergone, we shall lie "under the imputation of injustice." Such were the principles of Brutus.

[26] The Romans had three couches, holding three each, at the table, upon which the guests reclined. Of these the middle one was the most respectable, and the middle place upon it the place of honour. The *locus consularis*, however, where the consul when present was placed, was the lowest on the middle couch, as he could there most conveniently receive any messages; and next to him the host reclined, at the top of the lowest couch. The *imi convivæ lecti* (Hor. Sat. II. viii. 40.) were often his parasites, and humble friends.*

When they were about to leave Asia, Brutus (it is said) had an extraordinary apparition. Naturally watchful, sparing in his diet, and assiduous in business, he allowed himself but little time for sleep. In the day, he never slept at all; nor in the night, till all business was over, and his friends had retired, and left him nobody to converse with. But at this time, involved as he was in the operations of war, and solicitous for the event, he only slumbered a little after supper, and spent the rest of the night in ordering his most urgent affairs. When these were despatched, he employed himself in reading till the third watch [27], at which time the tribunes and centurions came to him for orders. In this manner, a little before he left Asia, he was sitting alone in his tent, by a dim light and at a late hour. The whole army lay in dead silence, when the general, wrapped in deep meditation, thought he perceived something enter his tent; and turning toward the door, saw a horrible and monstrous spectre standing stilly by his side. "What art thou?" said he boldly; "Art thou god, or man? And what is "thy business with me?" The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus! Thou wilt see me "at Philippi." To which he calmly replied, "I'll "meet thee there." As soon as the apparition was gone, he called his servants, who told him they had neither heard any noise, nor seen any vision. That night he did not lie down to rest, but went early in the morning to Cassius, and told him what had happened. Cassius, who was of the school of Epicurus, and used frequently to dispute with Brutus upon these subjects, answered him thus: "It is the opinion "of our sect, that not every thing which we see is "real; for matter is evasive, and sense deceitful. "Besides, the visual impressions are by the quick "and subtile influence of imagination thrown into a

[27] Or midnight. There were four watches of three hours each, commencing at 6 P. M., in the Roman discipline.*

" variety of forms, many of which have no arche-
" types in nature; and this the imagination effects,
" as easily as we make an impression on wax. The
" mind of man, having in itself the plastic powers
" and the component parts, can fashion and vary it's
" objects at pleasure. This is clear from the sud-
" den transition of dreams, in which the imagina-
" tion can educe from the slightest principles such
" an amazing variety of forms, and call into exer-
" cise all the passions of the soul. The mind is
" perpetually in motion, and that motion is imagi-
" nation or thought. But when the body, as in
" your case, is fatigued with labour, it naturally
" suspends or perverts the regular functions of the
" mind. Upon the whole, it is highly improbable,
" that there should be any such beings as dæmons
" or spirits: or that, if there were such, they should
" assume a human shape or voice, or have any power
" to affect us. At the same time, I own I could
" wish there were such beings, that we might not
" rely on fleets and armies, but find the concurrence
" of the gods in this our sacred and glorious enter-
" prise." Such were the arguments, which he used to tranquillise Brutus.

When the army began to march, two eagles perched upon the two first standards, and accompanied them as far as Philippi, being constantly fed by the soldiers; but, the day before the battle, they flew away. Brutus had already reduced most of the nations in these parts; nevertheless, he traversed the sea-coast opposite to Thasus, that if any hostile power remained, he might bring it into subjection. Norbanus, who was encamped in the straits near Symbolum[28], they surrounded in such a manner, that they obliged him to quit the place. He narrowly escaped losing his whole army indeed, which would certainly have been the case, had not Antony come to his relief with such astonishing expedition,

[28] See Dion, xlvii. 35.*

that Brutus could not believe it possible. Cæsar, who had been detained by sickness, joined his army about ten days afterward. Brutus was encamped over-against him, and Cassius was opposite to Antony. The space between the two armies, the Romans called 'the plains of Philippi.' Two armies of Romans, equal in numbers to these, had never before met to engage each other. Cæsar's was somewhat superior in numbers, but in the splendour of arms and equipage it was far exceeded by that of Brutus; for most of their arms were of gold and silver, which their general had liberally bestowed upon them. In other things, Brutus had accustomed his officers to frugality; but the riches which his soldiers carried about with them would at once, he thought, add to the spirit of the ambitious, and stimulate the covetous to the defence of their arms, the principal part of their wealth [29].

Cæsar made a lustration of his army within the camp, and gave each private man a little corn and five drachmas only for the sacrifice. But Brutus, in order to show his contempt of the poverty or the avarice of Cæsar, made a public lustration of his army in the field; and not only distributed cattle to each cohort for the sacrifice, but gave fifty drachmas upon the occasion to each private man. Of course he was more beloved by his soldiers, and they were more ready to fight for him. It is reported that, during the lustration, an unlucky omen happened to Cassius. The garland, which he was to wear at the sacrifice, was presented to him the wrong side outward. At a solemn procession likewise some

[29] This was likewise J. Cæsar's notion (see Suet. Jul. lxvii.); and Sertorius, as we learn from his Life, acted upon the same principle. It was not however the universal creed, as appears both from what is related of Mithridates, in the Life of Lucullus, III. 298., and from a fine passage in Livy, ix. 40. That Agricola indeed was of Brutus' opinion, may be inferred from Galgacus' speech to his Britons (Tac. Vit. Agr. xxxii.) But the epic writers, Homer and Virgil, seem to deride all gaudiness of arms, and represent it as often fatal to it's wearers. Il. ii. 872., Æn. xi. 768., &c.*

time before, the person who bore the golden image of Victory before Cassius, it was said, happened to stumble[30], and the image fell to the ground. Several birds of prey hovered daily about the camp, and swarms of bees[31] were seen within the trenches. Upon which, the soothsayers ordered the part where they appeared to be shut up; for Cassius, with all his Epicurean philosophy, began to be superstitious, and the soldiers were extremely disheartened.

For this reason Cassius was inclined to protract the war, and unwilling to hazard the whole of the event upon the ensuing engagement. What farther recommended this measure was, that they were stronger in money and provisions, but inferior in numbers. Brutus, on the other hand, was as usual for an instant decision; that he might either give liberty to his country, or rescue his fellow-citizens from the toils and expenses and dangers of war. He was encouraged likewise by the success, which his cavalry had met with in several skirmishes, and some instances of desertion and mutiny in the camp brought over many of Cassius' friends to his opinion. There was one Atellius however, a friend of his, who still opposed his project, and advised to put it off till the next winter. When Brutus asked him, what advantages he expected thence, he replied; "If I gain nothing else, I shall at least live so much "the longer." Both Cassius and the rest of the officers were displeased with this answer, and it was determined to give battle the day following.

Brutus, that night, expressed great confidence and cheerfulness; and having passed the hour of supper in philosophical conversation, retired to rest. Messala says, that Cassius supped in private with some of his most intimate friends; and that, contrary to

[30] Dion (xlvii. 40.) simply mentions the fact, without stating either that the image was of gold, or borne before Cassius.*

[31] See the Life of Dion, p. 23., not. 29.*

his usual manner, he was pensive and silent. After supper, he adds, he took him by the hand, and pressing it close, said courteously in Greek (the language, which he used upon such occasions), "Bear witness, "Messala, that I am reduced to the same necessity "with Pompey the Great, of hazarding the liberty "of my country upon one battle. Yet I have con-"fidence in our good-fortune, upon which we ought "still to rely, though our measures be indiscreet." These, Messala informs us, were the last words that Cassius spoke, before he bade him farewell; and the following day, being his birth-day[32], he invited Cassius to sup with him.

Next morning as soon as it was light, the scarlet robe, which was the signal for battle, was hung out in the tents of Brutus and Cassius; and they themselves met on the plain between the two armies. Upon this occasion, Cassius thus addressed himself to Brutus; "May the gods, Brutus, make this day "successful, that we may pass the rest of our days "together in prosperity! But as the most im-"portant of human events are the most uncertain, "and as we may never see each other more, if "we are unfortunate upon this occasion, tell me "what is your resolution concerning flight and "death?"

To this Brutus replied, "In the younger and "less experienced part of my life I was led, upon "philosophical principles, to condemn the conduct "of Cato in killing himself. I thought it at once "impious and unmanly to sink beneath the stroke "of fortune, and to refuse the lot that had befallen "us. In my present situation, however, I am of a

[32] Messala's, as M. Ricard rightly supposes: if indeed it had been Cassius' (according to our Shakspeare, Jul. Cæs. v. 1., influenced undoubtedly by North's translation from the French of Amyot), he would have supplied an additional instance of a great man's dying, like Pompey and Attalus and Shakspeare himself, on his birth-day; and, as such, would hardly have been omitted in Plutarch's list: see the Life of Camillus, I. 386.

"different opinion. So that if heaven should now "be unfavourable to our wishes, I will no longer "solicit my hopes or my fortune, but die contented "with it, such as it is. On the ides of March, I "devoted my life to my country; and since that "time, I have lived in liberty and glory." At these words Cassius smiled, and embracing Brutus said, "Let us march then against the enemy: for with "these resolutions, though we should not conquer, "we have nothing to fear." They then consulted with their friends concerning the order of battle. Brutus desired, that he might command the right wing, though that post was thought more proper for Cassius on account of his experience: Cassius however gave it up to him, and placed Messala, with the best of his legions, in the same wing. Brutus immediately drew out his cavalry, which were equipped with great magnificence, and the foot followed close behind.

Antony's troops were at this time employed in making a trench from the marsh, where they were encamped, in order to cut off Cassius' communication with the sea. Cæsar, confined by sickness, lay still in his tent. His soldiers were far from expecting, that the enemy would hasard a pitched battle. They supposed, that they were only making excursions to harass the trench-diggers with their light arms; and, not perceiving that they were pouring in upon them, they were astonished at the tumultuous and loud outcry which they heard from the trenches. Brutus in the mean time sent tickets to the several officers with the word of battle, and rode through the ranks to encourage his men. But there were few, who had patience to wait for the word. The chief part, before it could reach them, fell with loud shouts upon the enemy. This precipitate onset threw the army into confusion, and separated the legions. Messala's legion first turned the left wing of Cæsar, and was followed by those who were stationed near him. In their way, they disordered

some of the outmost ranks, and killed a few of the enemy: but their chief object was to fall upon Cæsar's camp, and they pushed directly up to it. Cæsar himself, as he informs us in his Memoirs, had but just before been conveyed out of his tent; in consequence of a vision of his friend Artorius, which commanded that he should be carried out of the camp. This gave currency to a report, that he was slain; for the soldiers had pierced his empty litter in many places with darts. Those that were taken in the camp were put to the sword, among whom were two thousand Lacedæmonian[33] auxiliaries. The rest of the forces, who attacked Cæsar's legions in front, easily put them to the rout, and cut three legions in pieces. After this, borne forward with the impetuosity of victory, they rushed into the camp along with the fugitives, and Brutus was in the midst of them. The flank of Brutus' army was now left unguarded, by the separation of the right wing, which had advanced too far in the pursuit; and the enemy, perceiving this, endeavoured to take advantage of it. They accordingly attacked it with great fury, but could make no impression upon the main body, which received them with the utmost firmness. The left wing, however [under the command of Cassius] was soon routed; for the men were in disorder, and knew nothing of what had passed in the right. The enemy pursued them into the camp, which they plundered and destroyed, though neither of their generals were present. Antony, it is said, to avoid the fury of the first onset, had retired into the adjoining marsh; and Cæsar, who had been carried sick out of the camp, was no where to be found. Nay, some of the soldiers would have persuaded Brutus that they had killed Cæsar, describing his

33 For 'Lacedæmonian,' M. Dacier plausibly suggests 'Macedonian' auxiliaries. The latter were certainly nearer the scene of action than the former, and had likewise more connexion with Rome. The 'Lacedæmon' also, mentioned below, is a doubtful word, upon the same account.*

age and person, and showing him their bloody swords.

The main body of Brutus' army had now made prodigious havock of the enemy; and Brutus in his quarter was no less absolutely conqueror, than Cassius was conquered. The want of knowing this was the ruin of their affairs. Brutus neglected to relieve Cassius, thinking that he as well as himself was victorious; and Cassius did not expect relief from Brutus, thinking that he as well as himself was overcome.

When Brutus had destroyed Cæsar's camp, and was returning from the pursuit, he was surprised that he could neither perceive Cassius' tent as usual above the rest, nor any of those that were about it; for they had been demolished by the enemy, on their first entering the camp. Some, that were of quicker sight than the rest, told him they could perceive a motion of shining helmets and silver targets in Cassius' camp; and supposed, from their numbers and their armour, that they could not be those, who had been left to guard the camp: though at the same time there was a less appearance of dead bodies, than there must have been after the defeat of so many legions. This gave Brutus the first suspicion of Cassius' misfortune; and leaving a sufficient guard in the enemy's camp, he called off the remainder from the pursuit, and led them to his friend's relief.

The case of Cassius was as follows: Chagrined at first by the irregular conduct of Brutus' soldiers, who had begun the attack without waiting for their general's orders, and afterward by their alacrity to plunder, rather than to surround and cut off the enemy; he trifled, instead of showing vigour and alacrity, with his command, and through want of vigilance suffered himself to be hemmed in by the enemy's right wing; upon which his cavalry quitted their post, and fled toward the sea. The foot, likewise, began to give way; and though he exerted

himself to the utmost to stop their flight, and snatching an ensign from the hand of one of the fugitives fixed it at his feet, he was scarcely able to keep even his own prætorian band together: so that he was at length obliged to retire, with a very small number, to a hill which overlooked the plain. Yet here he could discover nothing; for he was short-sighted, and it was with some difficulty that he could perceive his own camp plundered. His companions however saw a large detachment of horse, which Brutus had sent to their relief, making up to them. These Cassius concluded to be the enemy, that were in pursuit of him; notwithstanding which, he detached Titinius to reconnoitre them. When Brutus' cavalry saw this faithful friend of Cassius approach, they shouted for joy. His acquaintances leaped from their horses to embrace him, and the rest rode round him with clashing of arms, and all the clamorous expressions of immoderate gladness. This circumstance had a fatal effect. Cassius took it for granted, that Titinius was seized by the enemy; and regretted that through a weak desire of life, he had suffered his friend to fall into their hands. When he had expressed himself to this purport, he retired into an empty tent, accompanied only by his freedman Pindarus, whom ever since Crassus' defeat he had retained for a particular object. In that defeat, he had escaped out of the hands of the Parthians; but now wrapping his robe about his face, he laid bare his neck, and commanded Pindarus to cut off his head. This was done; for his head was found severed from his body: but whether Pindarus did it by his master's command or not, has been suspected, because he never afterward appeared. It was quickly discovered who the cavalry were; and Titinius, crowned with garlands, came to the place where he had left Cassius. The lamentations of his friends informing him of his general's unhappy fate, he severely reproached himself for the tardiness which had occasioned it, and fell upon his sword.

Brutus, as soon as he was assured of Cassius' defeat, made all possible haste to his relief; but he knew nothing of his death, till he came up to his camp. There he wept over his body, and called him 'the last of Romans;' intimating, that Rome would never produce another man of equal spirit. His funeral he ordered to be celebrated at Thasus, that it might not occasion any disorder in the camp. His dispersed and dejected soldiers he collected, and encouraged; and as they had been stripped of every thing by the enemy, he promised them two thousand drachmas a man. This munificence at once encouraged, and surprised them: they attended him at his departure with loud acclamations, and complimented him as the only general of the four, who had not been beaten. Brutus was confident of victory, and the event justified his hopes; for with a few legions he overcame all that opposed him, and if most of his soldiers had not passed the enemy in pursuit of plunder, the battle must have been decisive in his favour. He lost eight thousand men, including the servants, whom he called 'Briges.' The enemy, Messala says he supposes, lost more than twice that number. They were, consequently, more discouraged than Brutus; till Demetrius, a servant of Cassius, went over to Antony in the evening, and carried him his master's robe and sword, which he had taken from the dead body. This so effectually encouraged them, that they were drawn up in form of battle by break of day. Both camps in the occupation of Brutus involved him in difficulties. His own, full of prisoners, required a strong guard. At the same time, many of Cassius' soldiers murmured at their change of master, and the vanquished were naturally envious and jealous of the victors. He therefore thought proper to draw up his army, but not to fight.

All the slaves, whom he had taken prisoners, being found practising with his soldiers, were put to the sword, but most of the freemen and citizens he

dismissed; telling them at the same time, that "They were more truly prisoners in the hands of the "enemy, than in his: with them," he said, "they "were slaves indeed, but with him freemen and ci-"tizens of Rome." He was obliged, however, to dismiss them privately; for they had implacable enemies among his own friends and officers. Among the prisoners were Volumnius a mimic, and Saculio a buffoon; of whom Brutus took no notice, till they were brought before him, and accused of continuing, even in their captivity, their scurrilous language and abusive jests. Yet still, engaged in more important concerns, he paid no regard to the accusation: Messala Corvinus however was of opinion, that they ought to be publicly whipped and sent naked to the enemy, as proper associates and comrades for such generals. Some were entertained by the idea, and laughed; but Publius Casca, the first who wounded Cæsar, observed that it was indecent to celebrate the obsequies of Cassius with jesting and laughter: "As for you, Brutus," said he, "it will be seen "what esteem you have for the memory of that "general, when you shall have either punished or "pardoned those, who ridicule and revile him." Brutus, resenting this expostulation, replied; "Why "do you apply to me, Casca, instead of acting upon "your own ideas?" This answer was considered as an assent to their death; so the poor wretches were led away, and executed.

He now distributed the promised rewards to his soldiers; and, after gently rebuking them for having begun the assault without waiting for the word of battle, promised that if they acquitted themselves to his satisfaction in the next engagement, he would give them up the cities of Lacedæmon and Thessalonica to plunder. This is the only circumstance in his life, which baffles all apology. For though Antony and Cæsar subsequently acted with more unbounded cruelty in rewarding their soldiers, having driven most of the ancient inhabitants of Italy from

their lands, and bestowed them upon those who had no title to them; yet they acted consistently with their first object, which was the acquisition of empire and arbitrary power. But Brutus maintained such a reputation for virtue, that he was neither allowed to conquer, nor even to save himself, except upon the strictest principles of honour and justice: more particularly, since the death of Cassius, who was generally supposed to have influenced Brutus in any unusual act of violence. As sailors however, when their rudder is broken in a storm, substitute some other piece of wood in it's place, and though they are not able to steer so well as before, do the best they can in their necessity; so Brutus, at the head of such an immense army and such important affairs, unassisted by any officer equal to the charge, was obliged to make use of such advisers as he had: and he generally followed the counsel of those, who proposed any thing that might bring Cassius' soldiers to order. For these were now become extremely untractable; insolent in the camp from their want of a commander, though cowardly in the field from the remembrance of their defeat.

The affairs of Cæsar and Antony were not in a much better condition. Provisions were scarce, and the marshy situation of their camp made them dread a toilsome winter. The autumnal rains indeed had fallen heavy after the battle, and filled their tents with mire and water, which from the coldness of the weather immediately froze. In this situation they received intelligence of their loss at sea. Their fleet, on it's way from Italy with a large supply of soldiers, had been met by that of Brutus, and so totally defeated, that the few who escaped were reduced by famine to eat the sails and tackle of the ships. It was now determined, upon Cæsar's side, that they should come to battle before Brutus was apprised of his success. The fights, it appears, by sea and land had taken place on the same day; but by some accident, rather than the fault of the officers, Brutus

heard nothing of his victory till twenty days afterward. Had he been informed of it, he would certainly never have hasarded a second battle; as he had provisions sufficient for a considerable length of time, and his army was so advantageously posted, that it was safe both from the injuries of the weather and the incursions of the enemy. Besides, knowing that he was wholly master at sea and partly victorious by land, he would have had every thing imaginable to encourage him, and could not have been urged to any dangerous measures by despair.

But the republican form of government, it seems, was no longer to subsist in Rome: it necessarily required a monarchy; and Providence in order to remove the only man, who could oppose it's destined master, kept from him the knowledge of his victory till it was too late. And yet, how nearly had he received the intelligence! The very evening before the engagement a deserter named Clodius came over from the enemy to tell him, that Cæsar had learnt the loss of his fleet, and that this was the reason of his hastening the battle. The deserter, however, was considered either as designing or ill-informed: his communication was disregarded, and he was not even admitted into Brutus' presence.

That night, they say, the spectre re-appeared to Brutus, and assumed it's former figure, but vanished without speaking. Yet Publius Volumnius a philosophical man, who had borne arms with Brutus throughout the whole war, makes no mention of this prodigy; though he says, that the first standard was covered with a swarm of bees *, and that the arm of one of the officers incessantly perspired oil of roses, though often wiped and rubbed off. He adds likewise, that immediately before the battle, two eagles fought in the space between the two armies; and that an incredible silence and attention prevailed in the field, till that on the side of Brutus was beaten

* See above, p. 23., not. (29.)

and flew away. The story of the Ethiopian is well known, who meeting the standard-bearer opening the gate of the camp, was cut in pieces by the soldiers; for that they interpreted as an ill omen.

When Brutus had drawn up his army in form of battle, he paused some time before he gave the word. While he was visiting the ranks, he had suspicions of some, and heard accusations of others. The cavalry he found had no ardour for the attack, but seemed waiting to see what the foot would do. Besides, Camulatus a soldier in the highest estimation for valour rode close by Brutus, and went over to the enemy in his sight. This hurt him inexpressibly; and partly from anger, partly from fear of farther desertion and treachery, he led his forces against the enemy about three in the afternoon. Where he himself fought in person, he was still successful. He charged the enemy's left wing, and the cavalry following the impression which the foot had made, it was put to the rout. But when his other wing was ordered to advance, the inferiority of their numbers made them apprehensive that they should be surrounded. For this reason they extended their ranks, in order to cover more ground; by which means the centre of the wing was so much weakened [34], that it could not sustain the shock of the enemy, but fled at the first onset. After their dispersion the enemy surrounded Brutus, who did every thing that the bravest and most expert general could do in his situation, and whose conduct at least entitled him to victory. But what seemed an advantage in the first engagement, proved a disadvantage in the second. In the former battle, the conquered wing of the enemy was totally cut off, while most of the men in the conquered wing of Cassius were saved [35]. This, at the time, might ap-

[34] This appears to have determined the issue of the fatal day of Austerlitz.*

[35] There is no defect in the original, as the former translator imagines. He supposed the defeat of Cassius' soldiers to be in the

pear a benefit, but it proved detrimental. The remembrance of their former defeat filled them with terror and confusion, which they spread through the principal part of the army.

Marcus, the son of Cato, was slain fighting amidst the bravest of the young nobility. He scorned alike either to fly, or to yield; and avowing who he was, and assuming his father's name, still used his sword, till he fell upon the heaps of the slaughtered enemy. Many other brave men, who exposed themselves for Brutus' preservation, perished at the same time.

Lucilius, a man of great worth and his intimate friend, observed some barbarian horse riding full speed against Brutus in particular, and was determined to stop them, though at the hazard of his own life. He therefore told them, that he was Brutus; and they believed him, because he pretended to be afraid of Cæsar, and desired to be taken to Antony*. Exulting in their capture, and thinking themselves peculiarly fortunate, they carried him along with them by night; having previously sent an account of their success to Antony, who was infinitely pleased with it, and came out to meet them. Many others likewise, when they heard that Brutus was brought alive, assembled to see him; some pitying his misfortunes, while others accused him of an inglorious meanness, in having thus suffered the love of life to betray him into the hands of barbarians. On his approach, when Antony was deliberating in what manner he should receive him, Lucilius first addressed him, and with the utmost intrepidity said; "Be assured, Antony, that Brutus neither is, nor "will be, taken by an enemy. Forbid it, heaven, "that fortune should have such a triumph over vir-"tue! Whether he be found alive or dead, he will "be found in a state becoming Brutus. I have

present, and not in the former battle. This led him into the difficulty, which he increased by translating πλεον ισχε, 'victory,' instead of 'advantage.'

* See the Life of Antony, Vol. V.*

"imposed upon your soldiers, and am prepared to "suffer the worst which you can inflict." Thus spoke Lucilius, to the astonishment of those that were present. When Antony, addressing himself to those who brought him, said; "I perceive, "fellow-soldiers, that you are angry at this imposi-"tion of Lucilius: but you have really gotten a "better booty, than you intended. You sought an "enemy, but you have secured me a friend. I know "not how I should have treated Brutus, had you "brought him alive; but I am sure, that it is better "to have such a man as Lucilius for a friend, than "for an enemy." Upon this, he embraced Lucilius, recommending him to the care of one of his companions: and he ever afterward found him faithful to his interests.

Brutus, attended by a few of his officers and friends, having passed a brook overhung with cliffs and shaded with trees, and being overtaken by night, stopped in a cavity under a large rock. There casting his eyes upon the heavens, which were covered with stars, he repeated two verses, one of which (Volumnius informs us) was this;

Forgive not, Jove, the cause of this distress[36].

The other, he says, had escaped his memory. Upon enumerating the several friends, slain before his eyes in the battle, he sighed deeply at the mention of Flavius and Labeo; the latter of whom was his lieutenant, and the former the master of his band of artificers. In the mean while one of his attendants being thirsty, and observing Brutus in the same condition, took his helmet, and went to the brook for water. At the same time a noise was heard on the opposite bank, and Volumnius and Dardanus the armour-bearer went to see what it was. In a short time they returned, and asked for the water: "It is

[36] Eurip. Med. 333. The one forgotten was to the purport of *Non in re, sed in verbo tantùm, esse virtutem.* (Flor. iv. 7.) See Dion. xlvii., and Hor. Ep. I. xvii. 41.*

"all drunk up," said Brutus with a smile, "but "another helmet-full shall be fetched." The man, who had brought the first, was therefore sent again; but he was wounded by the enemy, and with difficulty made his escape.

As Brutus supposed, that he had not lost many men in the battle, Statilius undertook to pass through the enemy (for there was no other way) and see in what condition their camp was. If things were safe there, he was to hold up a torch as a signal, and return. He got safe to the camp, for the torch was held up; but a long time elapsed, and he did not return. "If Statilius were alive," said Brutus, "he "would be here." On his return, it appears, he fell into the enemy's hands, and was slain.

The night was now far spent; when Brutus, leaning his head toward his servant Clitus, whispered something in his ear. Clitus made no answer, but burst into tears. After that he took his armour-bearer Dardanus aside, and said something to him in private. At last addressing himself to Volumnius in Greek, he entreated him, in memory of their common studies and exercises, to put his hand to his sword, and help him to give the thrust. Volumnius, as well as several others, refused; and one of them observing, that they must necessarily fly, "We must "fly, indeed," said Brutus rising hastily, "not "however with our feet, but with our hands." He then took each of them by the hand, and spoke with great appearance of cheerfulness to the following purpose: "It is an infinite satisfaction to me, that "all my friends have been faithful. If I am angry "with Fortune, it is for the sake of my country. "Myself I esteem more happy than the conquerors, "not only in respect of my past, but also my present situation. I shall leave behind me that "reputation for virtue, which they with all their "wealth and power will never acquire. For posterity will not scruple to believe, that they were "an abandoned and worthless set of men, who "destroyed the good and the virtuous, for the sake

"of unjust empire." After this, he implored them severally to provide for their own safety, and withdrew with only two or three of his most intimate friends. One of these was Strato, with whom he had first become acquainted, when they studied rhetoric. This friend he placed next to himself; and laying hold of the hilt of his sword with both his hands, he fell upon the point, and died. Some say that Strato, at Brutus' earnest request, turned aside his head, and held the sword; upon which he threw himself with such violence, that entering at his breast it passed quite through his body, and he immediately expired.

Messala the friend of Brutus, after he was reconciled to Cæsar, took occasion to recommend Strato to his favour: "This," said he with tears, "is the "man, who did the last kind office for my dear "Brutus." Cæsar received him with kindness; and he was one of those brave Greeks, who afterward attended him at the battle of Actium. In that engagement, Cæsar observing, that he had been not less zealous in his service, than he had been against him at Philippi, he is said to have replied, "I have "always taken the best and justest side." When Antony found the body of Brutus, he ordered it to be covered with the richest robe he had; and, that being stolen, he put the thief to death*. His ashes he sent to his mother Servilia.

With regard to Porcia his wife, Nicolaüs[37] the philosopher and Valerius Maximus[38] inform us, that

* See the Life of Antony, Vol. V.

[37] Damascenus, a friend of Augustus, and a leader of the Peripatetic school. It was he, who used to send the emperor those celebrated dates, mentioned by Plin. H. N. xiii. 4., and Theophr. Hist. Plant. ii. 8. He was the author of an Universal History in one hundred and forty books, beside tragedies, comedies, &c.; and had attempted, as Suidas informs us, almost every species of composition. See Fabr. Bibl. Græc.*

[38] *Tuos quoque castissimos ignes, Porcia, M. Catonis filia, cuncta secula debitâ admiratione prosequentur; quæ cum apud Philippos victum et interemptum virum tuum Brutum cognosceres, quia ferrum non dabatur, ardentes ore carbones haurire non dubitâsti, muliebri*

being preserved by the constant vigilance of her friends from the death she courted, she snatched some burning coals from the fire, and shut them close in her mouth till she was suffocated. There is a letter however from Brutus to his friends still extant[39], in which he laments the loss of Porcia, and complains that their neglect of her must have made her prefer death to the continuance of her illness. So that Nicolaüs appears to have been mistaken, in the time at least, if this epistle be authentic; for it describes Porcia's distemper, her conjugal affection, and the manner of her decease.

THE RAJA ... MANAL

DION AND BRUTUS

COMPARED.

WHAT is principally to be admired in the lives of Dion and Brutus, is their having risen to such importance from inconsiderable beginnings. But here Dion has the advantage: for, in the career of glory, he had no co-adjutor; whereas Cassius went hand in hand with Brutus, and though in the reputation of virtue and honour by no means his equal, in military experience, resolution, and activity, he was not his inferior. Some have ascribed to him the origin of the whole enterprise, and have asserted, that Brutus would never otherwise have engaged in it. But Dion, at the same time that he made the whole military preparations himself, engaged also the friends and associates of his design. He did not, like Brutus, derive power and riches from the war; but he employed that wealth, upon which he was to subsist as an exile in a foreign country, in restoring the liberties of his own. When Brutus and Cassius fled from Rome, and found no asylum from

spiritu virilem patris exitum imitata. Sed nescio an hoc fortius, quod ille usitato, tu novo genere mortis absumpta es! (Val. Max. iv. 6.)

39 Not at present.*

the pursuit of their enemies, their only resource was war; and they took up arms as much in their own defence, as in that of the common liberty. Dion, on the contrary, was happier in his banishment, than the tyrant that had banished him; and yet he voluntarily exposed himself to danger for the freedom of Sicily. Besides, to deliver the Romans from Cæsar, and the Syracusans from Dionysius, were enterprises of a very different kind. Dionysius was an avowed tyrant; and Sicily, with reason, groaned beneath his yoke. But with respect to Cæsar, though while his imperial power was in it's infancy, he treated his opponents with severity, yet as soon as that power was confirmed by victory, the tyranny was rather a nominal and imaginary, than a real thing; for no cruel or tyrannical action could be laid to his charge. Nay, such was the condition of Rome, that it evidently required a master; and Cæsar appeared like some tender physician, appointed by Providence itself. Of course the people lamented his death, and were implacably enraged against his assassins. Dion, on the other hand, was reproached by the Syracusans for having suffered Dionysius to escape, and not having dug up their former tyrant's grave.

With regard to their military conduct, Dion, as a general, was without a fault; he not only made the most of his own instructions, but where others failed, he happily repaired the error. But it was wrong in Brutus to hasard a second battle, when all was at stake[1]. And after that battle was lost, he had neither sagacity enough to devise new resources, nor spirit (like Pompey) to contend with fortune, though he had still reason to rely upon his troops, and was absolute master at sea.

But what is chiefly blamed in Brutus, is his ingratitude to Cæsar. To his favour he owed his own life, as well as those of the prisoners, for whom he

[1] This censure seems very unjust. The wavering disposition of Cassius' troops obliged him to come to a second engagement.

had interceded. He had been treated as his friend, and distinguished by particular marks of honour; and yet he embrued his hands in his blood. Dion stands clear of any charge like this. As a relation of Dionysius, he assisted and was useful to him in the administration, so that his services were equal to his honours: and when he was driven into exile, and deprived of his wife and fortune, he had every just and legitimate motive to take up arms against him.

Yet, if this circumstance be considered in another light, Brutus will have the advantage. The greatest glory of both consists in their abhorrence of tyrants, and tyrannical measures. This, in Brutus, was unblended with any other motive. He had no quarrel with Cæsar, but exposed his life for the liberty of his country. But Dion, had he not been injured, would never have fought. This is obvious from Plato's Epistles[2]; where it appears, that he was banished from Dionysius' court, and in consequence of that banishment made war upon him. For the good of the community Brutus, though an enemy to Pompey, became his friend; and, though a friend to Cæsar, became his enemy. His enmity and his friendship in both instances arose from the same principle, justice. But Dion, while in favour, employed his services for Dionysius; and it was not till he was disgraced, that he armed against him. His friends, of course, were not quite satisfied with his enterprise. They were apprehensive that, when he had destroyed the tyrant, he might seize the government himself, and amuse the people with some softer title than that of tyranny. On the other hand, the very enemies of Brutus acknowledge that he was the only conspirator, who had no other view than that of restoring the ancient form of government.

Besides, the enterprise against Dionysius cannot be placed incompetition with that against Cæsar. The former had rendered himself contemptible by his

[2] See Epist. vii.

low manners, his drunkenness, and his debauchery. But to meditate the subversion of Cæsar without trembling at his dignity, fortune, or power, or shrinking at that name which disturbed the slumbers of Parthian and Indian kings; this evinced a superiority of soul, upon which fear could have no influence. Dion was no sooner seen in Sicily, than he was joined by thousands: whereas the authority of Cæsar was so formidable in Rome, that it supported his friends even after his death; and a simple boy rose to the highest eminence merely by adopting his name, which served as a charm against the envy and the power of Antony. Should it be objected, that Dion had the sharpest conflicts in expelling the tyrant, but that Cæsar fell naked and unguarded beneath the sword of Brutus; it will argue at least a consummate management and prudence, to have been able to come at a man of his power naked and unguarded. Particularly, when it is considered that the blow was not sudden, nor the work of one or of a few; but meditated, and communicated to many, not one of whom deceived their leader: for either he had the power of distinguishing honest men at the first view, or such as he chose he made honest by the confidence which he reposed in them. But, Dion confided in men of bad principles; so that he must either have been injudicious in his choice, or if his people grew worse after their appointments, unskilful in his conduct. Neither of these can be consistent with the character of a wise man; and Plato accordingly blames him in his letters, for having made choice of such friends, as in the end proved his ruin.

Dion found no one to avenge his death, whereas Brutus received an honourable interment even from his enemy Antony; and Cæsar, as it appears from the following circumstance, tolerated the public respect which was paid to his memory. A statue of brass had been erected to him at Milan, in Cisalpine Gaul, which was a fine performance and a striking

likeness. Cæsar, as he passed through the town, took notice of it; and after a short halt, summoning the magistrates, told them in the presence of his attendants, that they had broken the league by having harboured one of his enemies. The magistrates, as it may well be supposed, denied it; and stared at each other, profoundly ignorant what enemy he could mean. He then turned toward the statue, and knitting his brows said, "Is not this my enemy, "that stands here?" The poor Milanese were struck dumb with astonishment; but Cæsar added with a smile, that he was pleased to find them faithful to their friends in adversity, and ordered that the statue should continue where they had placed it.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

THE

LIFE

OF

ARTAXERXES.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL.

SUMMARY.

His birth and character. He is declared Darius' successor. His coronation. His brother Cyrus projects a revolt. Artaxerxes' liberality. Cyrus demands assistance of the Lacedæmonians; and begins his march against the king. Artaxerxes marches to meet him. Surprise of the rebels on his appearance. Clearchus the cause of Cyrus' defeat. Cyrus kills Artagerses. Account of Cyrus' death given by Dinon and Ctesias. His right hand and his head cut off. Differences between the story of Xenophon, and those of Dinon and Ctesias. Artaxerxes' presents to those, who had slain or wounded Cyrus. Folly of the Carian, who had wounded him; avenged by Parysatis. Mithridates, who boasted that Cyrus had fallen by his hand, condemned to the punishment of 'the boat.' Parysatis circumvents Artaxerxes, and gets Presabates flayed alive. Death of Clearchus, and some other Grecian officers. Parysatis poisons Statira, and is exiled to Babylon. Agesilaus invades Asia: Artaxerxes, by bribing several of the Grecian states, procures his recall. Peace of Antalcidas. Ismenias and Pelopidas visit his court. Magnificent presents made by that prince to Timagoras. He is reconciled to Parysatis, and marries Atossa: makes war upon the Egyptians and Cadusians; and is extricated from a perilous situation by the address of Tiribazus: Shows himself proof against luxury, but becomes suspicious and cruel: Declares his eldest son Darius his successor. Darius demands Aspasia of his father, who necessarily complies, but soon takes her away, and makes her a priestess of Diana of Ecbatana. Darius, offended by

this measure, is still farther exasperated against Artaxerxes by Tiribazus, who had suffered an injury of nearly the same kind. They enter into a conspiracy against him, which is detected. Tiribazus falls; Darius is beheaded. Death of Ariaspes; and of Arsames. Death of Artaxerxes.

THE first Artaxerxes[1], who of all the Persian kings was most distinguished for his moderation and greatness of mind, was surnamed 'Longimanus,' because his right hand was longer than his left[2]. He was the son of Xerxes. The second, surnamed 'Mnemon[3],' whose Life we are now going to write, was son to the daughter of the first. For Darius, by his wife Parysatis, had four sons; Artaxerxes the eldest, Cyrus the second, and Ostanes and Oxathres the two younger. Cyrus was denominated after the ancient king of that name, as he is said to have been after the sun; for the Persians call the sun 'Cyrus[4].' Artaxerxes at first was named Arsicas[5], though Dinon asserts that his original name was Oartes[6].

[1] M. Ricard gives a useful table of the succession of Persian kings from Cyrus downward, which I subjoin, inserting (after Blair) Artabanus, and making on the same authority a slight correction or two in the chronology.

Cyrus,	B. C. 559.	Xerxes II. (a month),	425.
Cambyses,	529.	Sogdianus (7 months),	424.
Smerdis, one of the Magi,	522.	Darius II. (Nothus),	423.
Darius, son of Hystaspes,	521.	Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon),	404.
Xerxes the Great,	485.	———— III. (Ochus),	358.
Artabanus (7 months),	464.	Arses,	337.
Artaxerxes Longimanus,	464.	Darius III. (Codomannus),	335.*

[2] Strabo, xv., refers this surname to the length of his arms, which (he says) when he stood upright, reached down to his knees.*

[3] On account of his extraordinary memory.

[4] This is Hesychius' opinion. And from Cyrus, M. Dacier thinks the Greeks, who borrowed many of their terms from the oriental languages, derived their word κυριος.*

[5] Or Arsaces, a more familiar name in the East. (Epit. Ctes. xix.)

[6] Or Oarses. Dinon, the father of Clitarchus the historian and

But though Ctesias has filled his books with a number of incredible and extravagant fables, it is not probable that he should be ignorant of the name of a king, at whose court he lived in quality of physician to him, his wife, his mother, and his children.

Cyrus, from his infancy, was of a violent and impetuous temper; but Artaxerxes had a native mildness, an innate gentleness in his whole disposition. The latter married a beautiful and virtuous lady, by order of his parents, and kept her even when they commanded him to send her away. For the king, having put her brother to death[7], designed that she should share his fate. But Arsicas applied to his

contemporary with Alexander, composed a History of Persia, to which frequent reference is made by both Greek and Latin writers. (See Voss. de Hist. Gr. iv. 8.) For an account of Ctesias see Fabr. Bibl. Gr., who gives a list of his works. As a writer, he is decried also by Strabo; but Demetrius Phalereus, Περι Ερμην., speaks well of him, as does also Dion. Halic. περι Συνθεσ. Ονομ. The fragments of him, still extant (Persica et Indica) are usually printed at the end of the editions of Herodotus.*

[7] Teriteuchmes, son of the satrap Hydarnes and brother of Statira, had been guilty of the complicated crimes of adultery, incest, and murther; which raised great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in them. Artaxerxes, then called Arsaces, was charmed with Statira's beauty, and married her. At the same time Teriteuchmes married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius and sister of Arsaces; and had thence interest enough, upon his father's demise, to get himself appointed to his government. But in the mean time he conceived a passion for his own sister Roxana, who was in no respect inferior in beauty to Statira; and that he might enjoy her without constraint, resolved to despatch his wife Hamestris, and light up the flames of rebellion in the kingdom. Darius, apprised of his design, engaged Adriastes, an intimate friend of Teriteuchmes, to kill him, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. Upon this, some commotions were raised by the son of Teriteuchmes: but, the king's forces having the superiority, all the family of Hydarnes were apprehended and delivered to Parysatis, that she might execute her revenge upon them for the injury done or intended to her daughter. That cruel princess put them all to death, except Statira, whom at the earnest entreaties of Arsaces, and contrary to the opinion of Darius, she spared. But Arsaces was no sooner settled upon the throne, than Statira prevailed upon him to leave Adriastes to her correction, and she put him to a death too cruel to be described. Parysatis, in return, poisoned the son of Teriteuchmes, and not long afterward Statira herself. (Ctes. in Pers.)

mother with many tears and entreaties, and at last with much difficulty prevailed upon her, not only to spare her life, but to excuse him from divorcing her. Yet his mother had the greater affection for Cyrus, and was desirous of raising him to the throne: so that when he was called from his residence on the coast, in his father's last sickness, he returned to court full of hopes that the queen's interest had established him successor. Parysatis had indeed a specious pretence, of which the ancient Xerxes, on the suggestion of Demaratus, had availed himself, viz. that she had brought Darius his son Arsicas when he was in a private station, but Cyrus after he was king. She could not, however, prevail. Darius appointed his eldest son [8] his successor, upon which occasion his name was changed to Artaxerxes. Cyrus had the government of Lydia, and was to be commander-in-chief on the coast.

Soon after Darius' death the new sovereign went to Pasargadæ [9], in order to be consecrated (according to custom) by the priests of Persia. In that city stands the temple of a goddess, who has the affairs of war under her patronage, and may therefore be supposed to be Minerva. This temple the prince to be consecrated must enter, and putting off his own robe, take that which was worn by Cyrus the Great before he was king. He must eat a cake of figs, chew some turpentine, and drink a cup of acidulated milk. Whether there are any other ceremonies is unknown, except to the persons concerned. As Artaxerxes was on the point of going to be consecrated, Tisaphernes brought him a priest, who had been chief inspector of Cyrus' education in his infancy, and had instructed him in the learning of the

[8] By his second wife: but for an account of his whole family and of this transaction, see Herod. vii. 2.*

[9] Pasargadæ was a city of Persia, which had been built by Cyrus the Great, on the spot where he had defeated Astyages, and endowed with several valuable privileges, and here he was subsequently interred. (Strab. xv.) *Hod.* Darabegerd.*

Magi; and might, therefore, be deemed as much concerned as any man in Persia, that his pupil had not been appointed king. Hence, his accusation against Cyrus could not but gain credit. He accused him of a design to lie in wait for the king in the temple, and after he had put off his garment, to attack and kill him. Some affirm, that Cyrus on this information was immediately arrested: others, that he slipped into the temple and concealed himself there, but was pointed out by the priest, in consequence of which he was doomed to death; but that his mother at that moment clasped him in her arms, bound the tresses of her hair about him, held his neck to her own, and by her tears and entreaties got him pardoned and remanded to the sea-coast. Nevertheless, he was far from being satisfied with his government. Instead of regarding his brother's favour with gratitude, he remembered only the indignity of his chains; and, in his resentment, aspired more than ever after the sovereignty.

Some indeed state, that he thought the allowance for his table insufficient, and therefore revolted from his king. But this is a foolish pretext. For if he had had no other resource, his mother from her own revenues would have readily supplied him with whatever he wanted. Besides, his riches are abundantly evinced by the number of foreign troops in his service, which were entertained for him, as we are informed by Xenophon[10], in various parts by his friends and retainers. For the better to conceal his preparations, he did not keep his forces in a body, but had his emissaries in different places, who enlisted foreigners on various pretences. In the mean while his mother, who lived at court, made it her business to remove the king's suspicions: and Cyrus himself always wrote in a lenient stile; sometimes entreating a candid interpretation, and sometimes recriminating upon Tisaphernes, as if his contention

[10] Anab. i.*

had been solely with that grandee. Add to this, that the king had naturally a dilatory turn of mind, which many took for moderation. At first indeed he seemed entirely to imitate the mildness of the first Artaxerxes, whose name he bore, by behaving with great affability to all that addressed him, and distributing honours and rewards to persons of merit with a lavish hand. He took care, that punishment should never be embittered with insult. If he received presents, he appeared as well pleased as those who offered them, or rather as those who received presents from him; and, in conferring favours, he always maintained a countenance of benignity and pleasure. There was not any thing, however trifling, sent him as a gift, which he did not receive with the utmost graciousness. Even when one Omisus brought him a pomegranate of uncommon size, he exclaimed; "By the light of Mithra, this man, if he were made "governor of a small city, would soon make it a large "one[11]." When he was once upon a journey, and people presented him with a variety of things by the way, a labouring man having nothing else to bestow ran to the river, and brought him some water in his hands. With this Artaxerxes was so much delighted, that he sent the man a golden cup, and a thousand Darics. Euclidas the Lacedæmonian having said many insolent things to him, he contented himself with ordering the captain of his guard to give him this answer; "You may say what you please to the king, "but the king can both say and do." One day, as he was hunting, Tiribazus showed him a rent in his royal robe; upon which the king said, "What shall "I do with it?" "Take another, and give that to "me," said Tiribazus. "It shall be so," said the king: "I give it thee; but I charge thee not to "wear it." Tiribazus, who though not a bad man

[11] Though there is no necessary union between the management of a garden and a government, yet Aristotle (in the first book of his Politics) has represented excellence in domestic œconomy as the basis of good statesmanship.*

was giddy and vain, disregarding the restriction soon put on the robe, and at the same time tricked himself out with some golden ornaments, fit only for queens. At this the court expressed great indignation, because it was a thing contrary to their laws and customs; but the king only laughed, and said to him, "I allow thee to wear the trinkets as a "woman, and the robe as a madman."

No one had been admitted in former reigns to the king of Persia's table, except his mother and his wife; the former sitting above, and the latter below him: Artaxerxes, nevertheless, extended that honour to Ostanes and Oxathres, his younger brothers. But what afforded the Persians the most pleasing spectacle, was the queen Statira always riding in her chariot with the curtains open, and admitting the women of the country to approach and salute her. These things made his administration popular. Some turbulent and factious men however still contended that the affairs of Persia required a king of the magnificent spirit, military talents, and generous sociability of Cyrus; and that the dignity of so great an empire could not be supported without a prince of high thoughts and noble ambition. It was not therefore without a confidence in some of the Persians, as well as in the maritime provinces, that Cyrus undertook the war.

He wrote also to the Lacedæmonians for assistance, promising that to the foot he would give horses, and to the horsemen chariots; that upon those who had farms he would bestow villages, and upon those who had villages cities. As for their pay, he assured them it should not be counted, but measured out to them. At the same time he spoke in very high terms of himself, assuring them that he had a loftier and more princely heart than his brother; that he was the better philosopher, having been instructed in the doctrines of the Magi, and that he could drink and bear more wine than his brother. Artaxerxes, he said, was so timorous

and effeminate a man, that he could not sit a horse in hunting, nor a chariot in battle. The Lacedæmonians therefore sent the Scytale to Clearchus, with directions to obey Cyrus' orders[12].

Cyrus began his march against the king, with a numerous army of barbarians[13], and almost thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries[14]. He found one pretence after another, for having such an armament on foot; but his real designs did not remain long undiscovered. For Tisaphernes went in person to give information about them to the king.

This communication threw the court into great disorder. Parysatis was censured as the principal cause of the war, and her friends were suspected of a private intelligence with Cyrus. Statira, in her distress about the war, occasioned her the most trouble: "Where is now," she cried, "that faith, "which you pledged? Where are your intercessions, "by which you saved the man, that was conspiring "against his brother? Have they not brought war, "and all its calamities upon us?" These expostulations fixed in the heart of Parysatis, who was naturally vindictive and barbarous in her resentment, such a hatred of Statira, that she contrived to take her off. Dinon writes, that this cruel purpose was carried into execution during the war; but Ctesias assures us, it was afterward. And it is not probable that

[12] They took care not to mention Artaxerxes, pretending not to be privy to the designs, which were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case Artaxerxes should get the better of his brother, they might justify themselves to him in what they had done. But see Xenoph. ib.

[13] A hundred thousand.

[14] Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, commanded all the Peloponnesian troops except the Achæans, who were led by Socrates of Achaia. The Bœotians were under Proxenus, a Theban, and the Thessalians under Menon. The other nations were commanded by Persian generals, of whom Ariæus was the chief. The fleet consisted of thirty-five ships under Pythagoras a Lacedæmonian, and twenty-five commanded by Tamos an Egyptian, who was admiral of the whole. Upon this occasion, Proxenus presented Xenophon to Cyrus, who gave him a commission among the Greek mercenaries.

he, who was an eye-witness of the transactions of that court, could either be ignorant of the time when the assassination took place, or have any reason to misrepresent the date of it: though he often deviates into fictitious tales, and loves to give us invention instead of truth. We shall therefore leave this story to the order of time, in which he has placed it.

While Cyrus was upon his march, he had accounts brought him, that the king did not design to try the fortune of the field by giving battle immediately, but intended to wait in Persia till his forces were assembled thither from all parts of his kingdom. And though he had drawn a trench across the plain ten fathom wide, as many deep[15], and four hundred furlongs in length, yet he suffered Cyrus to pass him, and to march almost to Babylon[16]. Tiribazus, we are told, was the first who ventured to remonstrate to the king, that he ought not any longer to avoid an action, or to abandon Media, Babylon, and even Susa to the enemy, and hide himself in Persia; since he had an army infinitely greater than theirs, and ten thousand satraps and other officers, all of them superior to those of Cyrus both in courage and conduct.

Upon this, he took a resolution to come to action as soon as possible. His sudden appearance with an army of nine hundred thousand men[17], well prepared and accoutred, extremely surprised the rebels; who, through their confidence in themselves and contempt of their enemy, were marching in great confusion,

[15] Xenophon says, this trench was only five fathom wide, and three deep. It must be observed that the word ὀργυιὰ sometimes signifies a pace only, and if it be so understood here, it will bring Plutarch's account more within the bounds of probability.

[16] There was a passage twenty feet wide left between the trench and the Euphrates, and Artaxerxes neglected to defend it.

[17] He had four armies of three hundred thousand men each, under Tisaphernes, Gobryas, Arbaces, and Abrocomas; but the last did not arrive till five days after the battle. He had also six thousand chosen cavalry about his person, and two hundred armed chariots.*

and even without their arms. Hence it was with the utmost difficulty, that Cyrus reduced them to any order, and he could not at last effect it without much noise and tumult. As the king advanced in silence and at a slow pace, the good discipline of his troops afforded an astonishing spectacle to the Greeks, who expected among such a multitude nothing but irregular shouts and motions, and every other instance of distraction and disorder. He displayed his judgement, likewise, in placing the strongest of his armed chariots before that part of his phalanx, which was opposite to the Greeks; that by the impetuosity of their motion, they might break the enemy's ranks before they came to close combat.

Many historians have described this battle: but Xenophon has done it with such life and energy[18], that we do not read an account of it; we see it, and feel all the danger. It would be the height of absurdity therefore to attempt any thing after him, except the mentioning of some material circumstances, which he has omitted.

The place where the battle was fought is called Cunaxa, and is five hundred furlongs from Babylon. A little before the action, Clearchus advised Cyrus to post himself behind the Macedonians[19], and not risk his person; upon which he is reported to have said, "What advice is this, Clearchus? Would you "have me, at the very time when I am aiming at a "crown, show myself unworthy of one?" Cyrus, indeed, committed an error, in rushing incautiously into the midst of difficulty and danger; but Clearchus was guilty of another as great, if not greater, in refusing to place his Greeks opposite to the king, and in getting the river upon his right in order to prevent his being surrounded. For if safety was his

[18] In the first book of his most interesting work, 'The Retreat of the Ten Thousand.'*

[19] This is undoubtedly the error of some transcriber; and for 'Macedonians' we should read 'Lacedæmonians.' The converse of this error is suggested as probable, p. 96., not. (33.)*

principal object, and he was by all means to avoid loss, he ought to have stayed at home[20]. But voluntarily to carry his arms ten thousand furlongs from the sea, solely with a view of placing Cyrus upon the throne of Persia; and then to secure, not a post where he might best defend the prince whose pay he received, but one in which he might act most at ease and with the least hazard, was to behave like a man, who at the sight of present danger abandons the whole enterprise, and forgets the entire purpose of his expedition. For from the course of the action it appears, that if the Greeks had charged those who were posted about the king's person, they would not have stood the shock; and, after Artaxerxes had been slain or put to flight, the conqueror must have gained the crown without farther interruption. The overthrow, therefore, of Cyrus' affairs and his death is much rather to be ascribed to the caution of Clearchus, than to his own rashness. For had the king himself assigned a post for the Greeks, where they might do him the least prejudice, he could not have selected a better than that, which was most remote from himself and the troops about him. At the distance at which he was placed from Clearchus, he knew nothing of the defeat of that part of his army near the river; and Cyrus was cut off, before he could avail himself of the advantages gained by the Greeks. Cyrus, indeed, was sensible what disposition would have been of most service to him, and for that reason ordered Clearchus to charge in the centre; but Clearchus, notwithstanding his assurances of doing every thing for the best, ruined all. For the Greeks beat the barbarians with ease, and pursued them a considerable way.

In the mean time, Cyrus being mounted on Pasacas, a horse of great spirit but at the same time headstrong and unruly, fell in (as Ctesias informs us)

[20] Xenophon, who was not less illustrious in the capacity of general than in that of historian, seems to commend Clearchus' prudence upon this occasion.*

with Artagerses, general of the Cadusians[21], who met him upon the gallop, and called out to him in these terms: "Most unjust and stupid of men, who "disgracest the name of Cyrus, the most august of "all names among the Persians; thou leadest those "brave[22] Greeks a vile way to plunder thy country, "and to destroy thy brother and thy king, who has "many millions of servants better men than thou. "Try if he has not, and here thou shalt lose thy head, "before thou can'st see the face of the king." So saying, he threw his javelin at him with all his force; but his cuirass was of such excellent temper, that he was not wounded, though the violence of the blow shook him in his seat. After which, as Artagerses was turning his horse, Cyrus aimed a stroke at him with his spear, and the point of it entering at his collar-bone, pierced through his neck. That Artagerses fell by the hand of Cyrus, almost all historians agree. With regard to the death of Cyrus himself, since Xenophon has given a very short account of it, as he was not on the spot when it happened, perhaps it may not be amiss to relate the manner of it (on the authority of Dinon and Ctesias) in greater detail.

Dinon informs us, that Cyrus, after he had slain Artagerses, charged the vanguard of Artaxerxes with extreme fury, wounded the king's horse, and dismounted him. Tiribazus immediately mounted him on another horse, and said, "Sir, remember "this day; for it deserves not to be forgotten." At the second attack, Cyrus spurred his horse against the king, and gave him a wound[23]; at the third, Artaxerxes in the utmost indignation said to those that were by, "It is better to die, than to

[21] A people near the Caspian sea.*

[22] Καλους, the epithet here given to the Greeks, has probably been a mistake of the transcribers for κακους. Then it will be, 'Thou leadest those vile Greeks a vile way,' &c.

[23] Or, 'with the violence of the encounter beat the king from his horse.' In the original it is, ενσεισας τῳ ἱππῳ κατεβαλε τον Αρταξερξην.

"suffer all this." At the same time he pushed forward against Cyrus, who was rashly advancing amidst a shower of darts. The king wounded him with his javelin, and others did the same. Thus fell Cyrus, as some say, by the blow which the king gave him; but according to others by the hand of a Carian soldier, who afterward, as an acknowledgement of his exploit, had the honour of carrying a golden cock at the head of the army on the point of his spear. For the Persians called the Carians 'cocks,' on account of the crests, with which they adorned their helmets[24].

Ctesias' story is very long, but the purport of it is as follows: When Cyrus had slain Artagerses, he spurred his horse up toward the king, and the king advanced against him, both in silence. Ariæus, one of Cyrus' friends, first aimed a blow at the king, but without effect. The king then threw his javelin at Cyrus, but missed him; the weapon however struck and killed Tisaphernes[25], a man of approved valour, and a faithful servant to Cyrus. It was now Cyrus' turn to try his javelin; which pierced the king's cuirass, and going two fingers deep into his breast, brought him from his horse. This occasioned such disorder in his troops, that they fled. But the king recovering himself retired with a few of his men, among whom was Ctesias, to an eminence not far off, and there reposed himself. In the mean time Cyrus' horse, grown more furious by the action, carried him deep among the enemy; and as night was coming on, they did not know him, and his own men sought for him in vain. Elated however with victory, and naturally daring and impetuous, he con-

[24] This was one of the three inventions ascribed to them by Herod. i. 171. And of this Alcæus (Strab. xiv.) speaks, Λοφον τε σειων Καρικον. Hence, likewise, is the Egyptian oracle explained, Herod. ii. 152.*

[25] Tisaphernes is, probably, an erroneous reading. We know of no Tisaphernes, but the grandee of that name, who was 'a faithful servant' to Artaxerxes. The St. Germain MS. gives us 'Satiphernes.'

tinued advancing, crying out in the Persian language as he went; "Slaves, make way." Upon this they humbled themselves, and opened their ranks; but his tiara happened to fall from his head, and a young Persian, named Mithridates, in passing wounded him with his lance in the temple near his eye, without knowing who he was. From this wound such a quantity of blood issued, that he was seized with a giddiness, and fell senseless from his horse. The horse having lost his rider, wandered about the field; the housing likewise fell off, and the servant of Mithridates, who had given him the wound, took it up all stained with blood.

At last Cyrus, with much difficulty, began to recover from his swoon; and a few eunuchs, who attended him, endeavoured to mount him upon another horse, and thus carry him out of danger. But as he was too weak to sit on horseback, he thought it better to walk, and the eunuchs supported him as he went. His head was still heavy, and he tottered at every step; yet he continued to believe himself victorious, because he heard the fugitives calling Cyrus 'king,' and imploring mercy.

At that instant some Caunians[26] of mean condition, who performed the most servile offices for the royal army, happened to mix with the company of Cyrus as friends. They perceived however, though not without difficulty, that the clothing of his people was red, whereas that given by the king their master was white. One of these then ventured to give Cyrus a stroke with his spear behind, but without knowing him to be the prince. The weapon hit his ham, and cut the sinew; upon which he fell, and in falling dashed his wounded temple against a stone, and died upon the spot. Such is Ctesias' story of the death of Cyrus, which like a blunt weapon hacks and hews him a long time, and can hardly kill him at last.

[26] Caunus was a city of Caria.*

Soon after Cyrus expired, an officer, who was called 'the King's Eye[27],' passed that way. Artasyras (for that was his real name) knowing the eunuchs, who were mourning over the corpse, addressed the one that appeared most faithful to his master, and said; "Pariscas, whom art thou lamenting so "much?" "O Artasyras!" answered the eunuch, "don't you see prince Cyrus dead?" Artasyras was astonished at the event: he desired the eunuch however to compose himself, and take care of the corpse; and instantly rode at full speed to Artaxerxes, who had given up all for lost, and was ready to faint, both with thirst and with the anguish of his wound, when the officer joyfully hailed him in these words, "I have seen Cyrus dead." The king, at first, was impatient to view the dead body himself, and commanded Artasyras immediately to conduct him to it. But finding the whole field full of terror from a report that the Greeks, victorious in their quarter, were pursuing the fugitives and putting all to the sword, he thought proper to send out a greater number to reconnoitre the place. Accordingly, thirty men went with flambeaux in their hands. Still the king was almost dying with thirst, and the eunuch Satibarzanes sought every place for water; as the field itself afforded none, and they were at a considerable distance from the camp. After much search, he found that one of those poor Caunians had about two quarts of bad water in a mean bottle, and took and carried it to the king. After the king had drank it all up, the eunuch asked him, "If he "did not find it a disagreeable beverage?" Upon which he swore by the gods, "That he had never "drank the most delicious wine, nor the lightest and

[27] Of these there were many in Persia, as well as of another class called 'the King's Ears,' from their respective employments in denouncing traitors. See Aristotle De Rep. iii. 16. They were originally established, in great numbers, by Cyrus the Great (Xenoph. K. Π. viii.) They did not, however, escape the wicked wits of those days, Aristoph. Acharn. i. 2, 3.*

"clearest water, with so much pleasure. I wish "only," continued he, "that I could find the man "who gave it thee, that I might bestow upon him "a recompence. In the mean time, I entreat the "gods to make him happy and rich."

While he was speaking, the thirty men, whom he had sent out, returned in great exultation, and confirmed the news of his unexpected good fortune. Now likewise numbers of his troops again repaired to him, and dismissing his fears he descended from the eminence, with many torches carried before him. When he came to the dead body, according to the law of the Persians, the right hand and the head were cut off; and having ordered the head to be brought to him, he took it by the hair which was long and thick, and showed it to the fugitives, and to such as were still doubtful of the fortune of the day. The sight astonished them, and they prostrated themselves before him. Seventy thousand men quickly gathered round him, and with them he returned to his camp. Ctesias informs us, he had led four hundred thousand men that day into the field; but Dinon and Xenophon make the number much larger. As to the number of the slain, Ctesias says, an account of only nine thousand was brought to Artaxerxes; whereas there appeared to himself to have been not fewer than twenty thousand [28]. That article, therefore, must be left dubious. But nothing can be a more palpable falsity than what Ctesias subjoins, that he was sent embassador to the Greeks in conjunction with Phaÿllus [29] the Zacynthian, and some others. For Xenophon knew, that Ctesias was at the Persian court; he mentions him in his works, and it is plain that he had met with his books.

[28] Diod. Sic. xiv. 34. estimates the king's loss at fifteen, and that of Cyrus at only three thousand. Of the Greeks, he says not a single man was slain, and only very few wounded.*

[29] He is named by Xenophon (Anab. ii.) Phalinus; and by Diod. Sic. ib. Phallenus. Zacynthus is the island now called Zante.*

If he had been joined in commission therefore to settle such important affairs, he would not have passed him by unnoticed, but would have mentioned him with Phaÿllus. Ctesias indeed was a man of unbounded vanity, as well as strong attachment to Clearchus; and for that reason always leaves a place in the story for himself, when he is celebrating the praises of Clearchus and the Lacedæmonians.

After the battle, the king sent great and valuable presents to the son of Artagerses, who had been slain by Cyrus. He rewarded also Ctesias, and others, in a distinguished manner; and having found the Caunian who gave him the bottle of water, he raised him from indigence and obscurity to riches and honours. There was something likewise of an appropriateness in his punishments. One Arbaces, a Mede, deserted during the battle to Cyrus, and after that prince's death returned to his colours. As he perceived that the man had done it rather from weakness and cowardice than with any treasonable design, he only sentenced him to carry about a naked courtesan upon his shoulders a whole day in the market-place. Another, beside deserting, had bragged that he had killed two of the enemy; and, for his punishment, he ordered his tongue to be pierced through with three needles.

He himself supposed, and he was desirous of having it believed by the world, that Cyrus fell by his hand. This induced him to send rich presents to Mithridates, who gave him the first wound, and to instruct the messengers to say; "The king does you "this honour, because you found the housing of "Cyrus' horse, and brought it to him." And when the Carian, who gave Cyrus the stroke in his ham, applied for his reward, he ordered those who gave it to him to state: "The king bestows this "upon you, because you were the second person "that announced to him good tidings. For Arta-"syras was the first, and you the next who brought "him an account of Cyrus' death." Mithridates

went away in silence, though not without concern: but the unhappy Carian could not surmount the common disease of vanity. Elated with what he thought his good fortune, and aspiring to things above his station, he would not receive his reward for tidings: but angrily insisted, and called the gods to witness, that he and no other had killed Cyrus, and that it was unjust to rob him of the glory.

At this the king was so much incensed, that he ordered the man's head to be struck off. But his mother Parysatis being present, exclaimed, "Let "not this villainous Carian get off so easily: leave "him to me, and he shall have the reward, which "his audacious tongue deserves." Accordingly, the king gave him up to her; and she delivered him to the executioners with orders to torture him for ten days, and then to tear out his eyes, and pour molten brass into his ears till he expired.

Mithridates also soon afterward, through his own folly, came to a miserable end. Being invited one evening to supper, where both the king's eunuchs and those of his mother were present, he went in a robe embroidered with gold, which he had received from the king. During the entertainment, Parysatis' principal eunuch took occasion to say; "What "a beautiful garment is that, Mithridates, which "the king has given you! How handsome are those "bracelets, and that chain! How valuable your "cimitar! He has certainly made you not only a "great, but a happy man." Mithridates, by this time flushed with wine, replied, "What are these "things, Sparamixes? I deserve much higher marks "of honour than these for the services, which I "rendered the king on that day." Upon which Sparamixes, with a smile, observed, "I speak not "in the least out of envy; but since (according to "the Greek proverb) 'there is truth in wine,' let "me ask you what great matter it is to find a horse's "housing fallen off, and bring it to the king?" This he said, not that he was ignorant of the real

state of the case; but wishing to lay him open, and observing that the wine had made him talkative and thrown him off his guard, he studied to pique his vanity. Mithridates, no longer master of himself, said, "You may talk of what housing and trifles you "please: but I tell you plainly, it was by this hand "that Cyrus was slain. I did not, like Artagerses, "throw my javelin in vain, but I pierced his temple "near the eye, and brought him from his horse; "and of that wound he died." The rest of the company saw the dreadful fate that would befal Mithridates, and cast their eyes upon the ground; but he who gave the entertainment said, "Come, "come, let us mind our eating and drinking; and "adoring the fortune [30] of the king, forego such "subjects as are too high for us."

Immediately after the company broke up, the eunuch told Parysatis what had been said, and she informed the king. Artaxerxes, like one who had been detected, or lost a victory out of his hands, was enraged at the discovery. For he was desirous of making all the barbarians and Greeks believe, that in the several encounters he had both given and received blows; and that, though he was wounded himself, he had killed his adversary. He, therefore, condemned Mithridates to the punishment of 'the boat.' The manner of this is as follows: they take two boats, which are made to fit each other, and extend the criminal in one of them in a supine posture. They then invert the second upon it, so that the poor wretch's body is covered, the head and hands only being left out at one end, and the feet at the other. He is supplied daily with victuals, and if he refuses to eat, they compel him by pricking him in the eyes. After he has eaten, they make him drink a mixture of honey and milk, which they pour into his mouth. They spread the same likewise over his

[30] Or, as an English host would have equivalently proposed (perhaps with three times three), 'drinking a bumper to his majesty's health.'*

face, and always turn him so as to have the sun full in his eyes; the consequence of which is, that his face is covered with swarms of flies. As all the necessary evacuations of a man who eats and drinks are within the boat, the filthiness and corruption engender a quantity of worms, which consume his flesh, and penetrate to his entrails. When they find that he is dead, they take off the upper boat, and enjoy the spectacle of a carcase whose flesh is eaten away, and of numberless vermin clinging to and gnawing the bowels. Mithridates with much difficulty found death, after he had thus gradually wasted for seventeen days.

There was now no remaining object for the vengeance of Parysatis but Mesabates, one of the king's eunuchs, who had cut off Cyrus' head and hand. As he took care, however, to give her no handle against him, she laid the following scheme for his destruction: she was a woman of keen parts in all respects, and in particular played well at dice. The king often played with her before the war, and being reconciled to her after it [resumed the same diversion. She was even the confidante of his pleasures, and scrupled not to assist him in his gallantries. Statira, indeed, was the object of her hatred, and she let her have a very small share of the king's company; for she was determined to possess the principal interest with him herself[31].] One day finding Artaxerxes in want of amusement, she challenged him to play for a thousand Darics, and purposely managed her dice so ill that she lost. She immediately paid the money, but with much apparent chagrin, and challenged him to play again for an eunuch. This proposal he accepted, and they agreed each of them to except five of their most faithful eunuchs; the winner to have his choice out of all the rest. On these conditions they played. The queen, who had the affair at heart, exerted all

[31] This passage is supplied from the St. Germain MS.*

her skill, and being favoured besides by the dice, won the eunuch, and pitched upon Mesabates, who was not of the number excepted. He was of course delivered to her, and before the king suspected any thing of her intentions, she put him into the hands of the executioners, with orders to flay him alive, to fix his body upon three stakes, and to stretch out his skin by itself. Artaxerxes, highly incensed, expressed his resentment in strong terms: but she only said in a laughing ironical way, "This is pleasant "indeed, that you must be so angry about an old "useless eunuch, while I say not one word of my "loss of a thousand Darics." The king, though much concerned at the trick, held his peace. But Statira, who upon other occasions openly censured the queen-mother, complained now of her injustice and cruelty in sacrificing to Cyrus the eunuchs and other faithful servants of the king.

After Tisaphernes[32] had gained possession of Clearchus and the other Grecian officers by treachery, and contrary to the treaty and his oaths put them in chains, Ctesias informs us, that Clearchus made interest with himself for the obtaining of a comb: with the use of which it seems he was so much pleased, that he took his ring from his finger, and gave it him as an evidence of his regard to be shown to his friends and relations in Lacedæmon. The device was a dance of the Caryatides[33]. He

[32] Tisaphernes, by promises which he did not intend to keep, drew Clearchus to an interview in his tent. He went with four principal officers, Proxenus the Bœotian, Menon the Thessalian, Agias the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achæan, twenty captains, and about two hundred soldiers, to wait on the Persian; who put Clearchus and the four officers under arrest, and ordered the captains to be cut in pieces. Some time afterward the king commanded Clearchus, and all the four officers except Menon, to be beheaded. (L.) Him he reserved for a whole year of tortures, at the end of which he likewise was put to death. (Xenoph. Anab. ii, ad fin.)*

[33] Carya was a town in Laconia, where there was a temple of Diana. The whole town, indeed, was dedicated to Diana and her nymphs. In the court before the temple stood a statue of Diana

adds, that whenever provisions were sent to Clearchus, his fellow-prisoners seized most of them for themselves, and left him only a very small share; but that he corrected this abuse, by procuring a larger quantity to be furnished to Clearchus, and separating the allowances. All this (according to our author) was done with the concurrence, and by the favour, of Parysatis. As he sent every day a gammon of bacon among the provisions, Clearchus suggested to him, that he might easily conceal a small dagger in the fleshy part; and earnesly implored him to do it, that his fate might not be left to the cruel disposition of Artaxerxes: but, through fear of the king's displeasure, he refused. The king however, at the request of his mother, promised upon oath not to put Clearchus to death; though he was afterward persuaded by Statira to destroy all the prisoners, except Menon. On this account (he adds) Parysatis plotted against Statira, and resolved to take her off by poison. It is perfectly absurd in Ctesias, to assign so disproportionate a cause. Would Parysatis, for the sake of Clearchus, undertake so horrid and dangerous an enterprise, as that of poisoning the king's lawful wife, by whom he had children and an heir to his crown? He obviously relates this fabulous tale, to do honour to Clearchus' memory. For the carcases of the other officers, by his account, were torn in pieces by dogs and birds; but a storm of wind brought a great heap of sand, and provided a tomb for Clearchus. Around this heap there sprang up a number of palm-trees, which soon grew into an admirable grove, and spread their protecting shade over the place; so that the king deeply repented of what he had done, believing that he had destroyed a man beloved by the gods.

It was therefore only from the hatred and jealousy,

Caryatis, and the Spartan virgins kept a yearly festival, upon which they danced round it. (L.) (Pausan. iii. 10.) The peculiar dance, we learn from Lucian, was established by Castor and Pollux.*

which Parysatis had from the first entertained of Statira, that she embarked in so cruel a design. She perceived, that her own power with the king depended only upon his reverence for her, as his mother; whereas that of Statira was founded on love, and confirmed by the highest confidence in her fidelity. The point which she had to carry was great, and she resolved to make a desperate effort for it. She had a faithful and favourite female attendant, named Gigis, who (as Dinon informs us) assisted in the affair of the poison; but, according to Ctesias, she was only privy to it, and that against her will. The former calls the person who provided the poison, Melantas; the latter, Belitaras [34].

These two princesses had apparently forgotten their old suspicions and animosities, and began to visit and eat at each other's table. But they did it with so much caution and distrust, as to make it a rule to eat at the same dish, and even of the same slices. There is a small bird in Persia which has no excrements, the intestines being completely filled with fat, whence it is supposed to live upon air and dew; the name of it is Rhyntaces. One of these birds, according to Ctesias, Parysatis divided with a small knife poisoned upon one side; and, taking the wholesomer part herself, gave the other to Statira. Dinon however affirms, that it was not Parysatis, but Melantas, who cut the bird in two, and presented the poisoned part to Statira. Be that as it may, she died in dreadful agonies and convulsions; and was not only herself sensible of the cause, but intimated her suspicions to the king, who knew too well his mother's savage and implacable temper, and therefore immediately made an inquiry into the affair. Her officers and servants who attended at her table were arrested, and put to the torture. But Gigis she kept in her own apartment; and, when the king demanded her, refused to give her up. At

[34] Both these names Huet, in his Dem Evang., identifies with Baltasar.*

last, Gigis entreated the queen-mother to let her go in the night to her own house; and the king, being informed of it, ordered some of his guards to intercept her. Accordingly she was seized, and condemned to die. The laws of Persia have ordered the following punishment for poisoners: their heads are placed on a broad stone, and then bruised and crushed with another, till nothing of the figure remains. Thus was Gigis executed. As for Parysatis, the king did not reproach her with her crime, nor punish her any farther than by sending her to Babylon (which was the place she petitioned to retire to), and declaring that he would never visit that city so long as she lived. Such was the state of his domestic affairs.

He was not less solicitous to get into his hands the Greeks, who had followed Cyrus into Asia, than he had been to conquer Cyrus himself, and to retain possession of the crown: but in this he could not succeed [35]. For though they had lost Cyrus their general and their own officers, they yet forced their way as it were out of the very palace of Artaxerxes, and proved to the whole world, that the Persians and their king had nothing to value themselves upon but wealth, luxury, and women; and that all the rest was mere parade, and ostentation. This gave fresh spirits to the Greeks, and taught them to despise the barbarians. The Lacedæmonians in particular thought it would be a great dishonour, if they

[35] The Greeks were at a great distance from their own country, in the very heart of the Persian empire, surrounded by a numerous army flushed with victory; and had no way of returning into Greece, but by forcing their retreat through an immense tract of the enemy's country. But their valour and resolution surmounted all these difficulties; and in spite of a powerful army which pursued and harassed them all the way, they made a retreat of 2,325 miles through the provinces belonging to the Persians, and arrived at the Greek cities on the Euxine sea. Clearchus had the conduct of this march at first, but he being cut off by the treachery of Tisaphernes, Xenophon was chosen in his room; and to his valour and wisdom it was chiefly owing, that at length they reached Greece in safety.

did not now deliver the Asiatic Greeks from servitude and put an end to the insults of the Persians. Their first attempt was under Thimbro, and their next under Dercyllidas[36]; but, as those generals effected nothing of importance, the conduct of the war was given to their king, Agesilaus. That prince immediately passed into Asia with his fleet, and speedily distinguished himself by his vigorous operations; for he defeated Tisaphernes in a pitched battle, and brought over several cities.

By these losses Artaxerxes understood, what would be his best method of making war. He therefore sent Hermocrates, the Rhodian, into Greece with a large quantity of gold, instructing him to corrupt with it the principal men among the states, and to stir up a Grecian war again Lacedæmon. In this commission Hermocrates acquitted himself with so much success, that the most considerable cities leagued against Sparta, and such commotions were excited in Peloponnesus, that the magistrates were forced to recall Agesilaus from Asia. Upon his departure, he is reported to have said to his friends, "The king drives me out of Asia with thirty thousand archers." The Persian money, it must be recollected, bore the impression of an archer.

Artaxerxes deprived the Lacedæmonians of the dominion of the sea, by means of Conon the Athenian, who acted in conjunction with Pharnabazus. For Conon, after he had lost the sea-fight at Ægos-Potamos[37], fixed his abode in Cyprus; not merely with a view of providing for his own safety, but waiting for a change of affairs, as mariners wait for the turn of the tide: and finding that his own plan required a respectable power to carry it into execution, and the Persian power a person of ability to conduct it, he transmitted to the king an account of the measures, which he had concerted. This letter

[36] See Xenoph. Hellen. iii.

[37] See the Life of Agesilaus, IV. 88., the Life of Alcibiades, II. 169., and the Life of Lysander, III. 199.*

the messenger was ordered to get delivered into his hands by Zeno the Cretan, who danced in the revels, or by Polycritus the Mendæan, who was his physician, or (in the event of their absence) by Ctesias another physician. It was given, we are told, to Ctesias, who added to it this paragraph; "I desire "you, Sir, to send me Ctesias, for he will be very "serviceable in the business of the navy." Ctesias however affirms, that the king without any kind of solicitation employed him upon that service.

After Artaxerxes, through Conon and Pharnabazus, had gained the battle off Cnidus, which stripped the Lacedæmonians of the empire of the sea, he drew almost the whole of Greece into his interest; insomuch that the celebrated peace, called 'the Peace of Antalcidas[38],' was entirely of his modelling. Antalcidas was a Spartan, the son of Leon, and so strongly attached to the king, that he persuaded the Lacedæmonians to give up to him all the Greek cities in Asia, and the islands which are reckoned among it's dependencies, to be held as his tributaries in virtue of the peace; if indeed we can call that a peace, by which Greece was dishonoured and betrayed, and which was indeed so vile a bargain, that the most unsuccessful war could not have terminated in any thing more inglorious.

Hence it was that Artaxerxes, though (according to Dinon's account) he always detested the other Spartans as the most impudent of men, expressed a great regard for Antalcidas, when he came to his court. One evening he took a chaplet of flowers from his head, dipped it in the richest essences, and sent it him from his own table. The whole court was astonished at such a mark of favour. But there seems to have been a propriety in making him this ridiculous compliment[39]; such a crown,

38 B. C. 387. See the Life of Agesilaus, IV. 99., and note.*

39 It was a compliment entirely out of character to a Spartan, who, as such, was supposed to value himself upon the simplicity of his manners, and to avoid all approaches to luxury: but Antalcidas

in fact, suited the brows of him, who could mimic Leonidas and Callicratides in a dance before the Persians. Somebody happening to say in Agesilaus' hearing, "Alas for Greece! when the Lace-"dæmonians are turning Persians;" he corrected him, and said, "No; the Medes are rather turning "Lacedæmonians[40]." But the wit of the expression did not remove the disgrace of the thing. They lost their superiority in Greece by the ill-fought battle of Leuctra[41], as they had previously lost their honour by the vile conditions of this peace.

So long as Sparta maintained her superiority, the king admitted Antalcidas to the privileges of hospitality, and called him his friend. But when, upon their defeat at Leuctra, the Spartans sent Agesilaus into Egypt to procure a supply of money, and Antalcidas went upon the same errand to the Persian court, Artaxerxes treated him with so much neglect and contempt, that between the ridicule which he suffered from his enemies, and his fear of the resentment of the Ephori, he resolved on his return to starve himself to death. Ismenias the Theban, and Pelopidas who had lately won the battle of Leuctra, went also to the court of Artaxerxes. Pelopidas submitted to nothing unworthy of his country, or his character; but Ismenias, being commanded to adore the king, purposely let his ring fall from his finger, that by stooping to take it up he might appear in a posture of adoration.

Timagoras the Athenian having given the king some secret intelligence, in a letter which he despatched by a secretary named Beluris, he was so

had shown, by his servile condescension, how little he was allied in feeling to Sparta.

[40] See note (38.)

[41] B. C. 371.; where the Thebans, led by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeated the Lacedæmonians under their king Cleombrotus, who fell in the action.*

much pleased that he made him a present of ten thousand Darics. The same Timagoras wanted a supply of cow's milk on account of a languishing disorder; upon which Artaxerxes ordered eighty cows for his use to follow him wherever he went. He likewise sent him a bed with the necessary coverlets, and Persian servants to make it, because he thought the Greeks not skilled in that art[42]; and he ordered him, on account of his indisposition, to be carried to the sea-side in a litter. To this we may add the allowance for his table while he was at court, which was so magnificent, that Ostanes the king's brother one day said to him; "Timagoras, remem-"ber this table, for it is not so sumptuously main-"tained for nothing." This was rather reproaching him for his treason, than calling for his acknowledgements. And indeed Timagoras, upon his return, was capitally condemned by the Athenians for having received bribes.

Artaxerxes in some measure atoned for the causes of sorrow, which he had given the Greeks, by doing one thing that afforded them great pleasure: he put Tisaphernes, their most implacable enemy, to death. This he did partly at the instigation of Parysatis, who added other charges to those alleged against him. For he had not long retained his anger, but was reconciled to his mother and sent for her to court; because he saw that she had understanding and spirit enough to assist in governing the kingdom, and there now remained no farther cause of suspicion between them. From this time she made it a rule to please the king in all her measures, and not

[42] Hence, says a former annotator, Agamemnon threatens to doom his Asiatic slave Chryseïs, when advanced in years,

To deck the bed she once enjoy'd! (Hom. Il. i. 31.)

The distance from the Persian capital to the sea-side, alluded to above, was so considerable, that the chairmen for their discharge of this piece of royal courtesy (as Plutarch himself informs us, in his Life of Pelopidas, II. 379.) received from the king a compensation of four talents.*

to oppose any of his inclinations, by which she gained an absolute ascendency over him. He had a strong passion, she perceived, for one of his own daughters, named Atossa. He endeavoured, indeed, to conceal it on his mother's account, and restrained it in public; though, according to some authors, he had already a private commerce with the princess. Parysatis no sooner suspected the intrigue, than she caressed her grand-daughter more than ever; and was continually praising to Artaxerxes both her beauty and behaviour, in which she assured him there was something great and worthy of a crown. At last, she persuaded him to make her his wife, without regarding the laws and opinions of the Greeks: "God," said she, "has made you a law "to the Persians, and a rule of right and wrong." Some historians (among whom is Heraclides of Cumæ[43]) affirm, that Artaxerxes married not only Atossa, but another of his daughters named Amestris, of whom we shall speak by and by. His affection for Atossa was so strong, that though she had a leprosy which spread itself over her whole body, he was not disgusted by it, but daily implored Juno for her, and grasped the dust of her temple; for he paid his homage to no other goddess. At the same time by his direction his state-officers sent so many offerings to her shrine, that the whole space between the palace and the temple, which was sixteen furlongs, was filled with gold, silver, purple, and fine horses[44].

Pharnabazus and Iphicrates[45] he despatched to make war upon the Ægyptians; but the expedition

[43] Who wrote a History of Persia in five books.*

[44] As 'horses' seem a strange present to Juno, and are as strangely mixed with 'gold, silver, and purple,' Dacier proposes, instead of ιππων, 'horses,' to read λιθων, 'precious stones.' (L.) And yet Juno was very partial to Argos, which the Greek poets call ιπποβοτος, ιππηλατος, ιππιος, &c.; and Horace (Od. I. vii. 9.) *aptum equis.**

[45] An Athenian general of high reputation, contemporary with Phocion. His Life was written by Cornelius Nepos.*

miscarried through a quarrel, which took place between the generals employed. After this he marched in person against the Cadusians, with three hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. Their country is rough and uneven, and covered with perpetual fogs. As it produces no corn or fruits by cultivation, the inhabitants, a fierce and warlike race of men, live upon wild pears, apples, and other things of that kind. He was, therefore, insensibly involved in great danger and distress; for his troops could find no provisions there, neither could they be supplied from any other place. They were consequently forced to kill their beasts of burthen, and eat them; and even those became so scarce, that an ass' head was sold for sixty drachmas. The king's table itself was ill supplied; and there remained only a few horses, all the rest having been used for food.

In this extremity Tiribazus, who was often in high favour on account of his courage, and often degraded for his levity, and who at this very time was in the deepest disgrace, saved the king and his whole army by the following stratagem: The Cadusians having two kings, each had his separate camp. Upon this Tiribazus founded his scheme; and after he had communicated it to Artaxerxes, went himself to one of those princes, and sent his son to the other. Each imposed upon the king to whom he applied, by pretending that the other was about to despatch a private embassy to Artaxerxes, with the view of negociating a separate alliance. "But if "you are wise," said they, "you will be before-"hand with your rival, and we will assist you in the "whole affair." This argument had it's effect; and each, persuaded that the other was undermining him out of envy, sent his embassadors, the one with Tiribazus, and the other with his son. As some time elapsed before they returned, Artaxerxes began to entertain suspicions, and there were not wanting people who suggested that Tiribazus had some trai-

torous design. Upon this, the king was extremely dejected, and repenting of the confidence which he had reposed in him, gave ear to all the calumnies of his enemies. But at last Tiribazus arrived, as did also his son, with the Cadusian embassadors, and peace was made with both parties; in consequence of which, Tiribazus stood higher in esteem and authority with the king than ever. During this expedition, Artaxerxes showed that weakness and cowardice ought not to be ascribed, as they generally are, to the pomp and luxuries of life[46], but to a native meanness and depravity of judgement. For neither the gold, nor the purple, or the jewels, which the king always wore, and which were worth not less than twelve thousand talents, prevented him from encountering the same fatigues and hardships with the meanest soldier in his army. He took his quiver on his back, and his buckler upon his arm, and quitting his horse would frequently march foremost up the most craggy and difficult places; so that others found their task much lighter, when they observed the strength and alacrity with which he proceeded; for he marched above two hundred furlongs a day.

At last he reached one of his own palaces, where there were gardens and parks of great extent and beauty, though the surrounding country was naked and barren. As the weather was exceedingly cold, he permitted his men to cut wood out of the parks, without sparing either pine or cypress: and, when he observed them loth to touch trees of such size and beauty, he took an ax in his own hand, and applied it to the largest and finest tree among them. After which they cut them down without scruple, and having made a number of fires, passed the night in comfort.

He found however, upon his arrival at his capital,

[46] Yet the instance in question ought rather perhaps to be considered as an exception, than an example.*

that he had lost many brave men, and almost all his horses; and imagining that he was despised for his disasters, and the ill success of the expedition, he became suspicious of his grandees. Many of them he put to death in anger, and more out of apprehension. For fear is the most sanguinary principle, upon which a tyrant can act; whereas courage, on the contrary, is mild and unsuspicious. Thus the shyest and most timorous animals are the most difficult to be approached, or tamed; whereas the more generous, having less suspicion because they have less fear, do not shun the caresses of man.

Artaxerxes, being now far advanced in years, observed his sons making parties for the crown, among his friends and the rest of the nobility. The more equitable were for his leaving it to his eldest son Darius, as he had himself received it from his father in right of primogeniture. But his younger son Ochus, who was a man of an active and violent spirit, had also a considerable interest among the grandees. Besides, he hoped to gain his father through Atossa; to whom he assiduously paid his court, promising to make her the partner of his throne upon the death of Artaxerxes. Nay, it was even said, that he had already had private familiarities with her. Artaxerxes, though he was ignorant of this circumstance, resolved to cut off Ochus' hopes at once; lest, following the daring steps of his uncle Cyrus, he should again involve the kingdom in civil wars. He therefore declared Darius his successor, who was now twenty-five [47] years old, and permitted him to wear the point of his turban [48] erect as a mark of royalty.

As it is customary in Persia for the heir to ask a favour of him that has declared him such, which if possible is always granted, Darius demanded Aspasia,

[47] In the printed text it is 'fifty;' but one of the MSS. gives us πεμπτον και εικοστον instead of πεντηκοστον. Besides, Plutarch calls him 'a young man' a little below.

[48] Κιταρις.

who had been his uncle Cyrus' favourite mistress, and was now one of the king's concubines. This woman was a native of Phocea in Ionia, and her parents, who were above the condition of slaves, had given her a good education. One evening, she was introduced to Cyrus at supper with the other women. While they all approached him without scruple, and received his jokes and caresses with pleasure, Aspasia stood by in silence; and, upon Cyrus' calling her to him, she refused to go. Perceiving that the chamberlains were about to compel her, she said, "Whoever lays hands upon me, shall repent it." Upon which, the company considered her as an unpolished rustic; but Cyrus was delighted, and said with a smile to the person who brought them, "Do "not you see that of all these, whom you have "provided, this young woman alone has generous "and virtuous sentiments?" From that moment he attached himself to her, loved her most of all his concubines, and called her Aspasia 'the Wise.' When Cyrus fell in battle, she was taken among the plunder of his camp.

Artaxerxes was much concerned at his son's request. For the barbarians are so extremely jealous of their women, that capital punishment is inflicted, not only upon the man who speaks to or touches one of the king's concubines, but upon him also who approaches, or passes their chariots on the road. And though, in compliance with the dictates of his passion, he had made Atossa his wife contrary to law, he kept three hundred and sixty concubines, all of them women of the greatest beauty. When Darius however demanded Aspasia, he declared her free, and said; "She might go with him, if she "pleased: but he would not compel her against "her inclination." Accordingly Aspasia was sent for, and contrary to the king's expectation made choice of Darius. He gave her up to him, indeed, because he was obliged to it by the law; but he soon took her away from him, and made her a

priestess of Diana of Ecbatana, whom they call 'Anitis[49],' that she might pass the remainder of her life in chastity. This he thought no severe revenge upon his son, but a pleasant way of chastising his presumption. Darius, however, highly resented the affront; whether it was, that the charms of Aspasia had made a deep impression upon him, or he thought himself insulted and ridiculed by the proceeding.

Tiribazus, seeing how much he was offended, endeavoured to exasperate him still farther. This he did from a fellow-feeling; for he had suffered an injury of nearly the same kind. The king, having several daughters, promised to give Apama to Pharnabazus, Rhodogune to Orontes[50], and Amestris to Tiribazus. With the two first he kept his word, but he deceived Tiribazus: for, instead of giving Amestris to him, he married her himself; promising at the same time, that he should have his youngest daughter Atossa. But of her likewise he afterward became enamoured, and married her too, as we have already mentioned. This treatment extremely incensed Tiribazus, who had indeed nothing steady in his disposition, but was wild and irregular. One while upon a level with the greatest men in the court, another while unacceptable to the king and sinking into disgrace, he bore no change of fortune with propriety. If he was in favour, his vanity was insupportable; if out of it, instead of being humble and quiet, he had recourse to violence and ferocity.

His conversing with the young prince was, therefore, adding fire to fire: "What avails it," said he, "to have the point of your turban advanced, if "you do not seek to advance your authority? "Nothing can be more absurd than your thinking

49 Pausanias (iii. 16.) says, there was a temple of Diana Anaitis in Lydia. But Justin (x. i.) informs us, that Artaxerxes made Aspasia one of the priestesses of the Sun.

50 Who subsequently fell into disgrace. See Diod. Sic. xv. 8.*

"yourself secure of the succession, while your "brother is privately forwarding his interest by "means of the women, and your father is so very "foolish and unsteady. He, who could break one "of the most sacred laws of the Persians, for the "sake of an insignificant Greek woman, is certainly "not to be depended upon in more important en- "gagements. Besides, the case is quite different "between you and Ochus, as to the event of the "competition: if Ochus fails to obtain the crown, "no body will hinder him from living happily in a "private station; but you, who have been declared "king, must either reign or die." Upon this occasion was verified the observation of Sophocles,

——Swift in it's march
Is evil counsel.

The road which leads us to what we desire is indeed smooth, and of an easy descent; and the desires of most men are vicious, because they have never known or tried the enjoyments of virtue. The lustre of the imperial crown, and Darius' fear of his brother, furnished Tiribazus with other arguments; but the goddess of beauty contributed her share toward persuading him, by putting him in mind of the loss of Aspasia.

He, therefore, entirely resigned himself to Tiribazus, and many others soon engaged in the conspiracy. But before it could be carried into execution, an eunuch gave the king information of it, and of all the measures that were to be taken; for he had procured perfect intelligence, that they designed to enter his chamber in the night, and to murther him in his bed.

Artaxerxes thought it would be great imprudence either to slight the information, and expose himself to such danger, or to credit it without farther proof. The method, which he adopted, was as follows: he ordered the eunuch to join Darius and his adherents, and assist at all their councils; and in the mean

time he broke a door through the wall behind his bed, which he concealed with the tapestry. When the moment which the eunuch had mentioned arrived, he placed himself upon his bed, and remained there till he had a sight of the faces of the conspirators, and could perfectly distinguish each of them. But as soon as he saw them draw their swords and advance toward him, he suddenly raised the tapestry, retreated into the inner room, and after he had bolted the door, alarmed the palace. The assassins, finding themselves discovered and their designs disappointed, immediately took to flight, and desired Tiribazus to do the same, because he must certainly have been observed. While he lingered, the guards came and laid hold on him; but he killed many of them, and it was with difficulty that he was despatched at last, by a javelin thrown from a distance.

Darius was arrested, together with his children, and brought to answer for his crime before judges appointed by the king. The king, thinking it improper to assist at the trial in person, directed others to prefer the charge against his son, and his notaries to bring him separately the opinion of each judge. As they all gave it unanimously for death, the officers took Darius, and led him into an adjacent prison. But when the executioner came, with the instrument in his hand which is used for beheading capital convicts, he was struck with horror at the sight of Darius, and drew back toward the door, as having neither ability nor courage to lay violent hands upon his prince. But the judges who stood at the door urging him to do his office, with menaces of instant punishment if he did not comply, he returned, and seizing Darius by the hair threw him on the ground, and cut off his head. Some say, the cause was tried in the king's presence; and that Darius, after he was convicted by indubitable proofs, fell on his face and begged for mercy: but Artaxerxes, rising in great anger, drew his cimitar, and pursued his stroke

till he laid him dead at his feet. After this, they add, he returned to his palace, and having paid his devotions to the sun, said to those who assisted at the ceremony; "My Persians, you may now re-"turn in triumph, and tell your fellow subjects, that "the great Oromazes[51] has taken vengeance upon "those, who had formed the most impious and exe-"crable designs against their sovereign." Such was the end of the conspiracy.

Ochus now entertained very agreeable hopes, and was farther encouraged by Atossa. But he had still some fear of his remaining legitimate brother Ariaspes, and of his natural brother Arsames. Not that Ochus had so much to apprehend from Ariaspes, merely because he was older; but the Persians were desirous of having him succeed to the throne on account of his mild, sincere, and humane disposition. As for Arsames, he had the character of a wise prince, and was the particular favourite of his father. This was no secret to Ochus. He, therefore, planned the destruction of them both; and being of an artful as well as a sanguinary turn, he employed his cruelty against Arsames, and his craft against Ariaspes. To the latter he privately sent some of the king's eunuchs and friends, with frequent accounts of severe and menacing expressions of his father's, as if he had resolved to put him to a cruel and ignominious death. As these persons came daily to tell him in confidence, that some of these threats were upon the point of being carried into execution, and the others would not long be delayed; he was so terrified, and fell into such a melancholy and desponding way, that he prepared a poisonous draught, and drank it off to deliver himself from the burthen of life.

The king being informed of the manner of his death sincerely lamented him, and had some suspicion of the cause, but could not thoroughly examine into it, on account of his advanced age. Arsames

[51] The Persians worshipped Oromazes as the author of Good, and Arimanius as the author of Evil.

however now became dearer to him than ever, and it was easy to see that the king placed an entire confidence in him, and communicated to him his most secret thoughts. Ochus therefore would not any longer defer his enterprise, but employed Harpates, the son of Tiribazus, to take him off. Artaxerxes, whom time had brought to the very verge of life, when he received this additional stroke in the fate of Arsames, could make little more struggle; but was soon brought down by grief and despondence to the grave. He lived ninety-four years, and reigned sixty-two[52]. He had the character of a prince who governed with lenity, and loved his people. But, perhaps, the behaviour of his successor might contribute not a little to his reputation; for Ochus was the most cruel and sanguinary of princes.

[52] According to Blair, forty-six. Diod. Sic. xv. 93. says that he reigned only forty-three, and places his death, B. C. 362. His successor assumed his name, from deference to the Persians, with whom he had been a great favourite.*

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL *

THE

LIFE

OF

ARATUS.

SUMMARY.

Why Plutarch addresses this Life to Polycrates. Aratus in his childhood escapes from the hands of Abantidas. Employments of his youth. Nicocles usurps the government of Sicyon. Aratus' plan to destroy the tyrant. He determines to scale the wall. His preparations. He deceives Nicocles' spies: Sets off: Is disturbed by the dogs, and the sentinels: Gets possession of Sicyon. Nicocles flies. He persuades that city to enter into the Achæan league. His character: Moderation and generosity. His voyage to Egypt. History of the portrait of Aristratus. He establishes peace and friendship among his countrymen. Antigonus attempts to render him obnoxious to Ptolemy. Aratus undertakes to recover the citadel of Corinth. Importance of that place: How gained by Antigonus. Erginus promises to give it up to Aratus for sixty talents. Aratus pledges his plate, jewels, &c. for the money. The enterprise nearly fails. Aratus enters Corinth: attacks the citadel, and takes it: Persuades the Corinthians to join the league. Other exploits. He has great influence in the confederacy: Undertakes to deliver Argos from the tyrant Aristomachus. The latter is slain, and succeeded by Aristippus. His miserable life. Aratus vainly endeavours to surprise Argos: Receives a check by his own mismanagement: Defeats and destroys the tyrant, which re-establishes his character. Lysiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, lays down his usurped authority, and unites that city to the Achæan league. Aratus defeats the Ætolians at Pellene. Singular occurrence in the temple of Diana. Aratus endeavours to surprise the Piræus:

Causes it to be given up to the Athenians: Procures Aristomachus' admission into the league: Is defeated by Cleomenes, and takes Mantinea. Death of Lysiades, and discredit thence attached to Aratus. Reflexions on his conduct. He prevents the reception of Cleomenes into the confederacy. Result of that affair. The Corinthians endeavour to seize him, but he escapes. Refuses Cleomenes' offers, and summons Antigonus to the aid of the Achæans. He is treated honourably by that prince, and recovers Argos from Cleomenes. His conduct, with regard to Mantinea, inexcusable. He is beaten by the Ætolians at Caphyæ. His reputation with Philip begins to decline. He persuades that prince to restore Ithome to the Messenians: Withdraws from his court: Is poisoned by that prince. Funeral honours paid to him at Sicyon. Vengeance of heaven upon Philip.

THE philosopher Chrysippus, my dear Polycrates, seems to have thought the ancient proverb not quite justifiable; and he therefore delivered it, not as it really is, but as he thought it ought to be:

— Who but happy sons will praise their sires?

Dionysodorus the Trœzenian however corrects him, and gives it right:

Who but unhappy sons will praise their sires?

The proverb (he says) was made to silence those who, having no merit of their own, dress themselves up in the virtues of their ancestors, and are lavish in their praises. And those in whom, to make use of Pindar's expression,

——— the virtues of their sires
Shine with congenial beauty.

who like you form their conduct after the brightest patterns in their families, may think it a great hap-

piness to remember the most excellent of their ancestors, and often to hear or speak of them. For they assume not the honour of other men's virtues through want of merit in themselves, but uniting their own exploits with those of their progenitors, they praise them as the authors of their descent and the models of their lives. For which reason, when I have written the Life of Aratus, your countryman and one of your ancestors, I shall send it to you, as reflecting no dishonour upon him either in point of reputation or power. Not that I doubt your having studied his actions, from the first, with all possible care and exactness; but I do it, in order that your sons, Polycrates and Pythocles, may form themselves upon the noble exemplars in their own family, sometimes hearing and sometimes reading what it becomes them well to imitate. For it is the admirer of self, not the admirer of virtue, who thinks himself superior to others.

After the harmony of the pure Doric[1] (I mean, the aristocracy) was broken in Sicyon, and seditions through the ambition of the demagogues took place, the city long continued in a distempered state. It only exchanged one tyrant for another, till Cleon was slain, and the administration devolved upon Timoclidas and Clinias, persons of the highest reputation and authority amongst the citizens. The commonwealth seemed in some degree re-established, when Timoclidas died. Abantidas, the son of Paseas, taking that opportunity to set himself up tyrant, killed Clinias, and either banished or put to death his friends and relations. He sought also for his son Aratus, who was only seven years old, with the design of despatching him. But, in the confusion that filled the house after his father's assassination, the boy escaped among those who fled, and wandered about the city trembling and unprotected, till he happened to enter unobserved the house of a woman

[1] There was great gravity, but at the same time great perfection, in the Dorian music. Sicyon was a city of Dorian extraction.

named Soso, who was sister to Abantidas, and had been married to Prophantus the brother of Clinias. As she was a person of generous sentiments, and was likewise persuaded that the child had taken refuge with her by the direction of some deity, she concealed him in one of her apartments till night, and then sent him privately to Argos.

Aratus, having thus escaped so imminent a danger, immediately conceived a violent and implacable hatred for tyrants, which increased as he grew up. He was educated by the friends of his family at Argos, in a liberal manner; and as he was vigorous and robust, he gave himself up to gymnastic exercises, and succeeded so well as to gain the prize in five several sorts[2]. In his statues, indeed, there is an athletic look; and, amidst the strong sense and majesty expressed in his countenance, we discover something inconsistent with the voracity[3] and the mattock of wrestlers. Hence perhaps it was, that he cultivated his powers of eloquence less than became a statesman. He might, indeed, be a better speaker than some suppose; and there are those who infer from his Commentaries, that he certainly was so, though they were hastily written, and attempted nothing beyond common language.

Some time after the escape of Aratus, Dinias and Aristotle the logician formed a design against the

[2] The five exercises of the Pentathlum (as we have already observed, in a former note) were running, leaping, throwing the dart, boxing, and wrestling. See M. Burette, Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, iii. 318.

[3] This in solids, as we learn from the story of Milo of Crotona, was not limited by any regimen. Their vaunted training had reference chiefly to abstinence from wine, the vicissitudes of the weather, &c. &c.

> *Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,*
> *Multa tulit, fecitque puer; sudavit et alsit,*
> *Abstinuit venere et vino.* (Hor. A. P. 412.)

In particular they used to break up the ground with the mattock, by way of exercise, to improve their strength. See Fest. *voc.* Rutrum; and Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, i. 221. 241.

> Κ'ωχετ' εχων σκαπανιν τε, και εικατι τυτοθι μαλα.
> (Theoc. Ειδ. δ'. 10.)

life of Abantidas; and they easily found an opportunity of carrying it into effect, as he attended and occasionally took a part in their disputations in the public halls, to which they had insensibly led him for that very purpose. Upon this Paleas, the father of Abantidas, seized the supreme power; but he was assassinated by Nicocles, who took his place, and was the next tyrant. There was a perfect likeness, it is said, between this Nicocles and Periander, the son of Cypselus; as Orontes the Persian resembled Alcmæon the son of Amphiaraus and a Lacedæmonian youth the great Hector. This young man, Myrsilus informs us, was crushed to death by the multitude who came to see him, as soon as the resemblance became public.

Nicocles reigned four months, during which time he offered a thousand injuries to the people, and nearly lost the city to the Ætolians, who had formed a scheme to surprise it. Aratus was by this time approaching to manhood, and much attention was paid to him on account of his high birth and spirit, in which there was nothing little or inactive, although it was under the correction of a gravity and solidity of judgement far beyond his years. The exiles, therefore, considered him as their principal resource; and Nicocles was not inattentive to his motions, but by his private agents observed all his measures. Not that he expected him personally to embark in so bold and dangerous an enterprise as he did, but he apprehended his applications to the princes, who had been connected with his father by the ties of friendship and hospitality. Aratus, indeed, began in that channel; but when he found that Antigonus, notwithstanding his promises, continually put him off, and that his hopes from Egypt and Ptolemy were too remote, he resolved to destroy the tyrant without any foreign assistance.

The first persons, to whom he imparted his intentions, were Aristomachus and Ecdelus; both of them exiles, Aristomachus from Sicyon, and Ecdelus from

Megalopolis. The latter was a philosopher, who in speculation never lost sight of practice, for he had studied at Athens under Arcesilaüs the Academician[4]. As these readily accepted his proposal, he applied to the other exiles, a few of whom joined him, because they were ashamed of renouncing their hopes; but the greater part believed it was only Aratus' inexperience[5], which made him project such a bold attempt, and endeavoured to prevent his proceeding.

While he was considering how to seize some post in the territories of Sicyon, whence he might prosecute hostilities against the tyrant, a man of Sicyon who had escaped out of prison arrived at Argos. He was the brother of Xenocles, one of the exiles; and being introduced by him to Aratus informed him, that the part of the wall over which he had scrambled was almost level with the ground on the inside, as it was contiguous to a high rocky part of the city, and that on the outside, it was not so lofty but that it might be scaled. On this intelligence Aratus sent two of his servants, Sceuthas and Technon, along with Xenocles to reconnoitre the wall: for he was resolved, if he could do it secretly, to hazard all upon one mighty effort, rather than protract the war, and publicly with his private resources assail the tyrant.

Xenocles and his companions, after they had taken the height of the wall, reported on their return that it was neither impracticable nor difficult, but that it was dangerous to attempt it, on account of some dogs kept by a gardener, which were small indeed, but extremely fierce and furious. Aratus, however, immediately set about the work. It was easy to provide arms without exciting alarm; for almost every body went armed, on account of the frequent robberies and incursions of one people into the terri-

4 Arcesilaüs was the disciple of Crantor, and had established the Middle Academy.

5 He was not yet twenty years old.

tories of another. And as to the scaling-ladders, Euphranor, who was one of the exiles and a carpenter by trade, made them publicly; his business screening him from suspicion. Each of his friends in Argos, who had no great number of men that he could command, furnished him with ten; he himself armed thirty of his own servants, and hired some few soldiers of Xenophilus, who was captain of a band of robbers. To the latter it was announced, that the design of their march to Sicyon was to carry off the king's stud; and several of them were despatched by different ways to the tower of Polygnotus [6], with orders to wait for him there. Caphesias was likewise sent off, with four others, in a travelling dress. These were to go in the evening to the gardener's cottage, and under the pretence of being travellers to procure a lodging there, after which they were to confine both him and his dogs; for that part of the wall was not accessible by any other way. The ladders being made to take in pieces, were packed up in corn-chests, and sent before in waggons prepared for the purpose.

In the mean time, some of the tyrant's spies arrived at Argos, and it was reported that they were sculking about to watch Aratus' motions. Next morning therefore, Aratus appeared early with his friends in the market-place, and conversed with them for some time. He then went to the Gymnasium, and after he had anointed himself, took with him some young men from the wrestling-ring, who used to be of his parties of pleasure, and returned home. In a little while his servants were seen in the market-place, some carrying chaplets of flowers, some buying flambeaux, and some in discourse with the women who used to sing and play at entertainments. These manœuvres completely deceived the spies. They laughed, and said to each other; "Assuredly, no-"thing can be more dastardly than a tyrant; since

[6] Between Argos and Nemea, a city on the road from the former place to Sicyon.*

"Nicocles, master of so strong a city and armed "with so much power, lives in dread of a young "man, who squanders the pittance he has to support "him in exile, upon drinking and revelling even in "the day-time." Under these false views of the matter, they retired.

Aratus, immediately after he had finished his meal, set out for the tower of Polygnotus; and, on joining the soldiers there, proceeded to Nemea, where he disclosed his real intentions to his whole company. Having exhorted them to behave like brave men, and promised them great rewards, he gave 'Propitious Apollo' for the word; and then led them on toward Sicyon, governing his march according to the motions of the moon, sometimes quickening and sometimes slackening his pace, so as to have the benefit of her light by the way, and to reach the garden near the wall just after she was set. There Caphesias met him, and informed him that the dogs had been let out before he arrived, but that he had secured the gardener. This account dispirited most of the party, and they entreated Aratus to renounce his enterprise; but he encouraged them by promising to desist, if the dogs should prove very troublesome. He then ordered those who carried the ladders to march before, under the conduct of Ecdelus and Mnasitheus, and he himself softly followed. The dogs now began to run about, and bark violently at Ecdelus and his men; nevertheless, they approached the wall, and planted their ladders safe. But as the foremost of them were mounting, the officer who was to be relieved by the morning-guard passed that way, at the sound of a bell, with many torches and much noise. Upon this, the men clapped themselves close to their ladders, and escaped the notice of this watch without much difficulty: but when the other which was to relieve it came up, they were in the utmost danger. That too passed, however, without having observed them; after which Mnasitheus and Ecdelus mounted the wall first, and having secured the way

both to the right and left, despatched Technon to Aratus to desire him to advance as fast as possible.

It was no great distance from the garden to the wall, and to a tower in which was placed a large hunting-dog to alarm the guard. But whether he was naturally drowsy, or had wearied himself the day before, he did not perceive their entrance. The gardener's dogs, however, awaking him by barking below, he began to growl; and when Aratus' men passed by the tower, he barked so loud, that the whole place resounded with the noise. Upon this the sentinel, who kept watch opposite to the tower, called aloud to the huntsman, and asked him; "Whom the dog barked at so angrily, or whether "any thing new had occurred?" The huntsman from the tower answered, "No; he was only dis-"turbed by the torches of the guards, and the noise "of the bell." This, more than any thing else, encouraged Aratus' soldiers; for they imagined that the huntsman concealed the truth, as having a secret understanding with their leader, and that there were many others in the town who would promote the design. But, when the rest of their companions came to scale the wall, the danger increased. It appeared to be a tedious business, because the ladders shook and swung extremely, if they did not mount them softly and one by one; and the time pressed, for the cocks began to crow. The country-people likewise, who kept the market, were expected to arrive every moment. Aratus therefore hastened up himself, when only forty of his company had gained the wall; and after a few more had joined him from below, putting himself at the head of his men, he marched immediately to the tyrant's palace where the main-guard was kept, and where the mercenaries passed the night under arms. Coming suddenly upon them, he took them prisoners without killing a single man; and then sent to his friends in the town, to invite them to come and join him. They immediately hastened to him from all quarters,

and day now appearing, the theatre was filled with a crowd of people who stood in suspense: for they had only heard a rumour, and had no certainty of what was doing, till a herald came and proclaimed aloud; "Aratus, the son of Clinias, calls the citizens "to liberty."

Upon this, persuaded that the long-expected day was at last arrived, they rushed in multitudes to the palace of the tyrant, and set fire to it. The flame was so strong, that it was seen as far as Corinth; and the Corinthians, wondering what might be the cause, were upon the point of going to their assistance. Nicocles himself crept away, and escaped out of the city by some subterranean conduits; and the soldiers, having helped the Sicyonians to extinguish the fire, plundered his palace. Neither did Aratus prevent them from taking this booty; but the rest of the wealth, which the several tyrants had amassed, he bestowed upon the citizens.

There was not so much as one man killed or wounded in this action, either of Aratus' party or of the enemy; fortune so conducting the enterprise, as not to sully it with the blood of a single citizen. Aratus recalled eighty persons, who had been banished by Nicocles, and of those that had been expelled by the former tyrants not less than five hundred. The latter had long been forced to wander from place to place, some of them full fifty years: most of them, of course, returned in a destitute condition. They were now, indeed, restored to their ancient possessions; but their going into houses and lands, which had found new masters, laid Aratus under considerable difficulties. Without, he saw Antigonus[7] envying the liberty which the city had recovered, and laying schemes to enslave it again; and within, he found nothing but faction and disorder. He therefore judged it best, in this critical situation, to unite it to the Achæan league[8]. As the people of Sicyon

[7] Surnamed Gonatus, the father of Demetrius. [8] B. C. 251.*

were Dorians[9], they had no objection to being called a part of the Achæan community, or to their form of government[10]. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the Achæans at that time were no very great or powerful people. Their towns were generally small, their territory neither extensive nor fertile, and they had no harbours on their coasts, the sea for the most part entering the land in rocky and impracticable creeks. Yet none gave a better proof than this people, that the power of Greece is invincible, so long as good order and harmony prevail among her members, and she has an able general to lead her armies. In fact these very Achæans, though next to nothing when compared with the Greeks in their flourishing times, or (to speak more properly) not equalling in their whole community the strength

[9] See Pausan. ii. 6.*

[10] The Dutch republic, before Holland was revolutionised by it's unfortunate contiguity to France, much resembled it. The Achæans indeed at first had two Prætors, whose office it was both to preside in the diet, and to command the army; but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one. There was this difference, likewise, between the Dutch Stadtholder and the Achæan Prætor, that the latter did not continue two years successively in his employment. But, in other respects, the similarity between the states of Holland and those of the Achæan league was striking; and, if the Achæans could have become a maritime power like the Dutch, their dominion would probably have been much more extensive and more lasting.

All the cities subject to the Achæan league were governed by the great council or general assembly of the whole nation, which was assembled twice a-year, in spring and in autumn. To this assembly, or diet, each of the confederate cities had a right to send a number of deputies, who were elected in their respective cities, by a plurality of voices. In these meetings they enacted laws, disposed of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, and in short provided for all the principal occasions of the commonwealth.

Beside the Prætor, they had ten great officers called Demiurgi, chosen by the general assembly out of the most eminent and experienced persons among the states. It was their office to assist the Prætor with their advice. He was to propose nothing to the general assembly, but what had been previously approved by their body; and upon them, in his absence, devolved the whole management of civil affairs.

of one respectable city at that period, yet by good counsels and unanimity, and by hearkening to any man of superior virtue instead of envying his merit, not only kept themselves free amidst so many mighty states and tyrants, but saved a large part of Greece, or rescued it from chains.

As to his character, Aratus had something very popular in his behaviour; he had a native loftiness of mind, and was more attentive to the public interest than to his own. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants; but, with respect to others, he made the good of his country the sole rule of his friendship or opposition. So that he seems rather to have been a mild and moderate enemy, than a zealous friend, his regards or dislikes to individuals varying as the occasions of the commonwealth dictated. In short, nations and great communities with one voice reechoed the declaration of the assemblies and theatres, that, 'Aratus loved none but the good.' With regard to open wars and pitched battles, he was indeed diffident and timorous; but in gaining a point by stratagem, in surprising cities and tyrants, there could not be an abler man.

To this cause we must ascribe it, that after he had exerted eminent courage, and succeeded in undertakings considered as desperate, through too much fear and caution he gave up others, that were more practicable and not of less importance. For as among animals there are some which can see very clearly in the night, and yet are almost blind in the day-time, the dryness of the eye and the subtilty of it's humours not suffering them to bear the light; so there is in man a kind of courage and understanding, which is easily disconcerted in open dangers and encounters, and yet resumes a happy boldness in secret enterprises. The reason of this inequality in men, of parts otherwise excellent, is their wanting the advantages of philosophy. Virtue is in them the product of nature unassisted by science, like the fruits of the forest, which come without the least

cultivation[11]. Of this, there are many examples to be found.

After Aratus had engaged himself and his city in the Achæan league, he served in the cavalry, and the generals highly esteemed him for his ready obedience. For though he had contributed so much to the common cause by his name and by the forces of Sicyon, yet the Achæan commander, whether of Dyna or Tritta or some still more inconsiderable town, always found him as tractable as the meanest soldier.

When the king of Egypt[13] made him a present of twenty-five talents, he received it indeed, but he expended the whole upon his fellow-citizens; relieving the necessitous with part of it, and ransoming such as were prisoners with the rest.

But the exiles, whom Aratus had recalled, would not be satisfied with any thing less than the restitution of their estates, and gave the present possessors so much trouble, that the city was in danger of being ruined by sedition. In this extremity, he saw no resource, except in the generosity of Ptolemy; and he therefore determined to take a voyage to Egypt, and apply to him for as much money as would reconcile all parties. Accordingly, he set sail from Methone[14] above the promontory of Malea, in hopes of taking the shortest passage. But a contrary wind arose; and the seas ran so high that the pilot, unable to bear up against them, changed his course, and with much difficulty got into Adria[15], a

[11] This character of the inconsistencies of Aratus is perfectly agreeable to what Polybius has recorded of him in his fourth book. Two great masters, though their manner must be different, will draw with equal excellence.

[13] Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was succeeded by Euergetes, B. C. 246.*

[14] In Messenia, anciently called Pedasus, and one of the seven cities promised by Agamemnon to Achilles. (Il. ix. 294.) See Strabo viii. Malea was a promontory of Laconia, Strab. ib., Odyss. ix. 80.*

[15] Palmerius conjectures that we should read 'Andria,' which he supposes to have been a town in the island of Andros; as Ara-

town belonging to the enemy; for Antigonus had a garrison there. To avoid this imminent danger, he landed; and with only one friend named Timanthes, making his way as far as possible from the sea, sought shelter in a place well covered with wood, in which he and his companion spent a very disagreeable night. Soon after he had left the ship, the governor of the fort came and inquired for him; but he was deceived by Aratus' servants, who were instructed to say, he had instantly sailed in another vessel for Eubœa. The ship and servants he detained, however, as lawful prize. Aratus spent some days in this distressful situation, where one while he looked out to reconnoitre the coast, and another while kept himself concealed; but at last, by good fortune, a Roman ship happened to put in, near the place of his retreat. It was bound for Syria, and Aratus prevailed upon the master to land him in Caria. But he had as great dangers to combat at sea in this, as in his former passage. And when he was in Caria, he had a voyage to take to Egypt, which he found a very long one. Upon his arrival, however, he was immediately admitted to an audience by the king, who had long been inclined to serve him, on account of the paintings with which he used to compliment him from Greece. Aratus, it appears, who had a taste for these things, was always collecting for him the pieces of the best masters, particularly those of Pamphilus and Melanthus[16]. For Sicyon was famed for the cultivation of the arts, particularly that of painting; and it was believed, that there only the ancient elegance was preserved

tus is said to have passed thence to Eubœa, which is opposite to that island.

[16] Two of the most celebrated painters of antiquity. Pamphilus had been brought up under Eupompus, and was the master of Apelles and Melanthus. His *chef-d'œuvres* were, a Brotherhood, a Battle, the Victory of the Athenians, and Ulysses in his vessel taking leave of Calypso: and Pliny informs us, that the whole wealth of a city could scarcely purchase one of the pieces of Melanthus. (H. N. xxxv. 7. 12.)

without the least corruption. Hence it was that the great Apelles, at a time when he was much admired, went to Sicyon and gave the painters a talent, not so much for any improvement which he expected, as for the reputation of having been of their school. In consequence of which Aratus, when he restored Sicyon to liberty, and destroyed the portraits of the tyrants, hesitated a long time on coming to that of Aristratus, who had been contemporary with Philip: for it was the united work of the disciples of Melanthus, who had represented him standing in a chariot with the Goddess of Victory; and the pencil of Apelles himself, we are informed by Polemo[17] the geographer, had contributed to the performance.

This piece was so admirable, that Aratus could not avoid feeling the art which was displayed in it; but his hatred of tyrants soon over-ruled that feeling, and he ordered it to be defaced. Nealces the painter[18], who was honoured with his friendship, is said to have implored him with tears to spare it: and when he found him inflexible, he cried out; "Continue your war, Aratus, with tyrants, but not "with every thing that belongs to them. Spare at "least the chariot and the Victory, and I will soon "make Aristratus vanish." Upon this Aratus gave his consent, and Nealces defaced the figure of Aristratus, but did not venture to put any thing in it's place except a palm-tree. We are told, however, that there still remained a dim appearance of the feet of Aristratus at the bottom of the chariot.

This taste for painting had already recommended Aratus to Ptolemy, and his conversation gained so much farther upon him, that he made him a present

[17] This writer had composed several works upon painters and painting. See Fabric. Bibl. Græc.*

[18] Nealces was a painter of great reputation. The subject of one of his pieces was, the Naval Fight between the Egyptians and the Persians. As this action took place upon the Nile, whose colour resembles that of the sea, he distinguished it by a symbol: he drew an ass drinking on the shore, and a crocodile in the act of springing upon him. (Plin. ib. 11.)

of a hundred and fifty talents for the city; forty of which he sent back with him on his return to Peloponnesus, and remitted the rest in the several portions, and at the times that he had appointed. It was an honourable circumstance to apply such a sum of money to the use of his fellow-citizens, at a time when it was common to see generals and demagogues, for much smaller sums which they had received of kings, oppressing, enslaving, and betraying to them their native cities. But it was still more honourable, by this money to reconcile the poor to the rich, to secure the commonwealth, and to introduce comfort among all ranks of people.

His moderation in the exercise of the great power, with which he was vested, was truly admirable. For, being appointed sole arbitrator of the claims of the exiles, he refused to act alone, and joined with himself fifteen of the citizens in the commission; with whose assistance, after much labour and attention, he established peace and friendship among his countrymen. Beside the honours, which the whole community conferred upon him for these services, the exiles in particular erected his statue in brass, and put upon it the following inscription:

Far as the pillars which Alcides rear'd,
Thy toils, thy counsels, and thy might are heard.
But we, Aratus, to our homes restored
By thy just arms, thy justice to record,
'Mid guardian gods thy guardian statue place;
For thou, like them, givest harmony and peace.

Aratus, after such important services, was placed above envy among his people. But king Antigonus, uneasy at his popularity, was determined either to gain him over to his party, or to render him obnoxious to Ptolemy. He therefore showed him extraordinary marks of his regard, though he desired no such advances. Among others, the following was one: upon occasion of a sacrifice, which he offered at Corinth, he sent portions of it to Aratus at

Sicyon: and at the feast which ensued he said, in full assembly, "I at first considered this young "Sicyonian only as a man of a liberal and patriotic "spirit, but now I find that he is also a good judge "of the characters and affairs of princes. At first, "he overlooked us for the sake of foreign hopes, "and the admiration which he had conceived from "hearsay of the wealth, and elephants, and fleets, "and splendid court of Egypt; but since he has "been upon the spot, and seen that all this pomp "is merely theatrical, he has entirely come over to "us. I have received him to my bosom, and am "determined to employ him in all my affairs. I "desire, therefore, that you will all regard him as "a friend." From this speech, the envious and malevolent took occasion to allege heavy charges against Aratus, in their letters to Ptolemy; insomuch, that the king sent one of his agents to tax him with his infidelity. Thus, like passionate lovers, the candidates for the first favours of kings dispute them with the utmost envy and malignity.

After Aratus was first chosen general of the Achæan league, he ravaged Locris, which lies on the other side of the gulf of Corinth, and committed the same spoil in the territories of Calydon. It was his intention to have assisted the Bœotians with ten thousand men, but he came too late; they had been already defeated by the Ætolians in an action near Chæronea[19], in which Abœocritus their general, and a thousand of their men, were slain.

The year following[20], Aratus being re-elected general undertook the celebrated enterprise of recovering the citadel of Corinth, in which he con-

[19] We must take care to distinguish this battle of Chæronea, from that great action in which Philip of Macedon beat the united forces of the Thebans and Athenians, and which took place B. C. 338., above sixty years before Aratus was born.

[20] Polybius, who wrote from Aratus' Commentaries, informs us there were eight years between his first prætorship and his second in which he took the citadel of Corinth.

sulted not only the benefit of Sicyon and Achaia, but of Greece in general; for such would the expulsion of the Macedonian garrison prove, which was nothing better than a tyrant's yoke. As Chares, the Athenian general, upon a battle which he won from the king of Persia's lieutenants, wrote to the people that he had gained a victory sister to that of Marathon; so we may justly pronounce this exploit of Aratus sister to those of Pelopidas the Theban, and Thrasybulus the Athenian, when they slew the tyrants[21]. There is indeed this difference, that Aratus' enterprise was not against Greeks, but against a foreign power, a difference much to his honour. For the isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, unites our continent to that of Peloponnesus; and when there is a good garrison in the citadel of Corinth, which stands on a high hill in the middle at an equal distance from the two continents, it cuts off all communication with those within the isthmus, so that there can be no passage for troops, nor any kind of commerce either by sea or land. In short, he who is possessed of it, is master of the whole of Greece. The younger Philip of Macedon therefore was not jesting, but spoke a serious truth, when he called the city of Corinth 'the Fetters of Greece.' Hence the place, particularly among kings and princes, was a constant subject of dispute.

Antigonus' passion for it was not less than that of love, in it's greatest extravagance; and it was the chief object of his anxiety to find a method of taking it by surprise, after his hope of succeeding by open force had failed. When Alexander, who was master of the citadel, died of poison (said to have been administered at the instigation of Antigonus) his wife Nicæa, into whose hands it then fell, guarded it with great care. But Antigonus, hoping to gain it by means of his son Demetrius, sent him to make

[21] See the Life of Pelopidas, II. 356., &c.; and Xenoph. (Hellen. ii.)

her an offer of his hand. It was a flattering prospect, to a woman somewhat advanced in years, to have such a young prince for her husband. Accordingly, Antigonus caught her by this bait. She did not however give up the citadel, but guarded it with the same attention as before. Antigonus pretending to take no notice, celebrated the marriage with sacrifices and shows, and spent whole days in feasting the people, as if his mind had been entirely occupied with mirth and pleasure. One day when Amœbæus was to sing in the theatre, he conducted Nicæa in person, on her way to the entertainment, in a litter decked with royal ornaments. She was elated with the honour, and had not the least apprehension of what was to ensue. But when they came to the road turning off toward the citadel, he ordered the men who bore the litter to proceed to the theatre; and bidding farewell to Amœbæus and the wedding, walked up to the fort, much faster than could have been expected from a man of his years. Finding the gate barred, he knocked with his staff, and commanded the guard to open it. Surprised at the sight of him, they complied, and thus he became master of the place. Upon this occasion, he was not able to contain his joy: he drank and revelled in the open streets, and in the market-place, attended by female musicians and crowned with flowers. When we see a man of his age, who had experienced such changes of fortune, in the indulgence of his transports embracing and saluting every one he meets, we must acknowledge that unexpected joy raises greater tumults in an unbalanced mind, and oversets it sooner, than either fear or sorrow.

Antigonus, having thus gained possession of the citadel, garrisoned it with men in whom he placed the utmost confidence, and made the philosopher Persæus [22] governor. While Alexander was living,

[22] Who had been his tutor, Æl. Var. Hist. iii. 17. He was a stoic, originally the slave and subsequently the pupil of Zeno, the founder of that sect. See Athen. xiii. 8.*

Aratus had cast his eye upon it, as an excellent acquisition for his country; but, the Achæans admitting that prince into the league, he did not prosecute his design. Afterward, however, a new occasion presented itself. There were in Corinth four brothers, natives of Syria; one of whom, named Diocles, served as a soldier in the garrison. The other three having stolen some of the king's money retired to Sicyon, where they applied to one Ægias a banker, whom Aratus used to employ. Part of this gold they immediately disposed of to him; and Erginus, one of the three, at several visits privately changed the rest. Thus an acquaintance was formed between him and Ægias, who one day drew him into discourse about the garrison. Erginus told him, that as he often went up to visit his brother, he had observed on the steepest side a small winding path cut in the rock, and leading to a part of the wall much lower than the rest. Upon this, Ægias said with an air of raillery; "Why will you, my good friend, "purloin the king's treasures for so inconsiderable "a sum, when you might raise yourself to opulence "by a single hour's service? Don't you know that "if you are apprehended, you will as certainly be "put to death for this trifling theft, as if you had be-"trayed the citadel." Erginus laughed at the hint, and promised to sound his brother Diocles upon the subject; for he could not, he said, place much confidence in the other two.

A few days after this he returned, and had an interview with Aratus; at which it was agreed, that he should conduct him to a part of the wall not above fifteen feet high, and that both he and his brother Diocles should assist him in the sequel of the enterprise. Aratus, on his part, promised to give them sixty talents, if he succeeded; and if they failed, and yet returned all safe to Sicyon, he engaged that each of them should have a house and one talent. As it was necessary, for the satisfaction of Erginus, that the sixty talents should be deposited

in Ægias' hands, and Aratus neither had such a sum nor chose to borrow it, lest he should create some suspicion of his intentions, he took the greatest part of his plate and his wife's jewels, and pledged them with Ægias for the money. Such was the loftiness of his soul, and such his passion for noble achievements, that knowing Phocion and Epaminondas had been accounted the justest and most excellent of all the Greeks for refusing considerable presents, and not sacrificing virtue to money, he ascended a step higher. He privately gave money, and embarked his estate in an enterprise, where he alone was to expose himself for the many, who were not even apprised of his intentions in their favour. Who, then, can sufficiently admire his magnanimity? Who, even in our days, is not fired with ambition to imitate the man that purchased so much danger at such an immense price, and pledged the most valuable of his goods for the sake of being introduced by night among enemies, where he was to fight for his life, without any other equivalent than the hope of performing an heroic action?

This undertaking, in itself sufficiently dangerous, became still more so by a mistake which they committed in the beginning. Technon, one of Aratus' servants, of whom we have already spoken, was sent before to Diocles, that they might reconnoitre the wall together. He had never seen Diocles, but he thought he should easily know him by the marks which Erginus had given, viz. his curled hair, swarthy complexion, and total want of beard. He went therefore to the place appointed, and sat down before the city at a point called Ornis, to wait for Erginus and his brother Diocles. In the mean time Dionysius their eldest brother, who knew nothing of the affair, happened to come up. As he greatly resembled Diocles, Technon, struck with his appearance, which exactly answered the description, inquired if he had any connexion with Erginus. On his replying, that he was his brother, Technon, thoroughly

persuaded that he was speaking to Diocles, without demanding his name or waiting for any token, gave him his hand, mentioned to him the circumstances of the appointment with Erginus, and asked him many questions about it. Dionysius availed himself very artfully of the mistake, agreed to every point, and returning towards the city held him in discourse, without giving him the least cause of suspicion. They were now near the town, and he was on the point of seizing Technon; when fortunately Erginus met them, and perceiving how much his friend was imposed upon, and the extreme danger he was in, beckoned to him to make his escape. Accordingly, they both fled, and got safe to Aratus. Aratus however did not renounce his hopes, but immediately sent Erginus to Dionysius, to offer him money and entreat him to be silent: in which he succeeded so well, that he brought Dionysius back with him. When they had him in their hands, they thought it not judicious to part with him; but bound and guarded him in a small apartment, and then prepared for their principal design.

When every thing was ready, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms; and taking with him four hundred picked men, who knew nothing of what they were setting about, he led them to the gates of the city near the temple of Juno. It was then about the middle of summer, the moon at the full, and the night without the least cloud. As their arms glittered by the moon-light, they were afraid that circumstance would betray them to the watch. The foremost of them were now near the walls, when clouds arose from the sea, and covered the city and it's environs. The men sat down, and took off their shoes, that they might make the less noise, and mount the ladders without danger of slipping. Erginus, in the mean while, with seven young men in the habit of travellers, reached the gate unobserved, killed the keeper and the guard who were with him. At the same time the ladders were

applied to the walls, and Aratus with a hundred men instantly mounted. The rest he commanded to follow, in the best manner they could; and having immediately drawn up his ladders, he marched at the head of his party through the town toward the citadel, confident of success, because he had not been discovered.

As they advanced, they met four of the watch with a light, which gave Aratus a full view of them, while he and his company remained unseen, because the moon was still overclouded. He, therefore, retired under some ruined walls, and lay in ambush for them. Three out of the four were killed; but the other, after he had received a cut upon his head, made his escape crying, "That the enemy "was in the city." In a little time the trumpets sounded, and the whole town was in motion on the alarm. The streets were filled with people running up and down; and so many lights were brought out, both in the lower town and in the citadel, that the whole was illuminated, and a confused noise was heard from every quarter. Aratus went forward notwithstanding, and attempted the way up the rock. Slowly and difficultly he proceeded at first, because he had lost the path which lay deep beneath it's craggiest parts, and led to the wall by a variety of windings and turnings. But at that very moment the moon, as it were by miracle[23], is said to have dispersed the clouds, and thrown a light upon the obscurest portion of the path, which continued till he reached the wall at the place he sought. The clouds then gathered afresh, and she again hid her face.

In the mean while, the three hundred men, whom Aratus had left by the temple of Juno, had entered the city, which they found all in alarm and full of lights. As they could not discover the path which

[23] The extreme courtesy of the moon, during the whole of this adventure, gives too great an air of romance for the narrative of sober history.*

Aratus had taken, nor trace him in the least, they screened themselves under the shady side of a high rock, and waited there in great perplexity and distress. By this time he was engaged with the enemy on the ramparts of the citadel, and they could distinguish the cries of combatants: but, as the noise was echoed by the neighbouring mountains, it was uncertain whence it originally proceeded. While they were in doubt what way to turn, Archelaüs, who commanded the king's forces, took a considerable corps, and ascending the hill with loud shouts and trumpets sounding, in order to attack Aratus' rear, passed the party of the three hundred without perceiving them; but he was no sooner gone by, than they rose up as from an ambuscade, fell upon him, and killing the first so terrified the rest, including Archelaüs himself, that they turned their backs, and were pursued till they entirely dispersed.

When the party was thus victorious, Erginus came down from their friends above, to inform them that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, who made a vigorous defence, that the wall itself was disputed, and that their general wanted immediate assistance. They bade him lead them to the place that moment; and, as they ascended, they announced themselves by their shouts. Thus their friends were encouraged, and the reflexion of the full moon upon their arms caused them to appear more numerous to their enemies, on account of the length of the path. By the echoes of the night, likewise, the shouts seemed to come from a much larger party. At last they joined Aratus, and with an united effort beat off the enemy, and took post upon the wall. At break of day the citadel was their own, and the first rays of the sun dawned upon their success. At the same time, the rest of Aratus' forces arrived from Sicyon: the Corinthians readily opened their gates to them, and assisted in taking the king's soldiers prisoners[24].

[24] B. C. 243.*

When he thought his victory complete, he went down from the citadel to the theatre; an innumerable multitude crowding to see him, and to hear the speech, which he was about to make to the Corinthians. After he had ranged the Achæans on each side of the avenues to the theatre, he came from behind the scenes, and made his appearance in his armour. But he was so much changed by labour and watching, that the joy and elevation, which his success might have inspired, was weighed down by the extreme fatigue of his spirits. On his appearance, the people immediately began to express their high sense of his services; upon which he took his spear in his right hand, and leaning his body and one knee a little against it, remained a long time in that posture silent, to receive their plaudits and acclamations, their praises of his virtue, and compliments on his good fortune.

After their first transports were over, and he perceived that he could be heard, he summoned all the strength that he had left, and made a speech in the name of the Achæans suitable to the great event, persuaded the Corinthians to join the league, and delivered to them the keys of their city, of which they had never been masters since the times of Philip. As to the generals of Antigonus, he set Archelaüs, who was his prisoner, free; but Theophrastus he put to death, because he refused to leave Corinth. Persæus, on the taking of the citadel, made his escape to Cenchreæ [25]. A while afterward, when he was amusing himself with disputations in philosophy, and some person advanced the position that, 'None but the wise man was fit to be a general;' "Assuredly," said he, "this maxim of Zeno's once "pleased me more than all the rest; but I have "changed my opinion, since I was better taught "by the young Sicyonian." This circumstance concerning Persæus we have from many historians.

[25] Pausanias, ii. 8., says Aratus put him to death.*

Aratus immediately seized the Heræum (or temple of Juno) and the harbour of Lechæum, in which he took twenty-five of the king's ships. He took also five hundred horses, and four hundred Syrians whom he sold. The Achæans placed a garrison of four hundred men in the citadel of Corinth, which was strengthened with fifty dogs, and as many men to take care of them.

The Romans were great admirers of Philopœmen, and called him 'the last of the Greeks;' not allowing, that there was any great man among that people after him. But, in my opinion, this exploit of Aratus is the last, which the Greeks have to boast. Whether we consider indeed the boldness of the enterprise, or the good fortune which attended it, it equals the most illustrious upon record. This appears, likewise, from it's immediate consequences: the Megarensians revolted from Antigonus, and joined Aratus; the Trœzenians and Epidaurians, also, ranged themselves on the side of the Achæans.

In his first expedition beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus, Aratus over-ran Attica, and passing into Salamis, ravaged that island; so that the Achæan forces thought themselves escaped as it were out of prison, and followed him wherever he pleased. Upon this occasion he set the Athenian prisoners free without ransom, by which he sowed among them the first seeds of defection from the Macedonians. He brought Ptolemy[26], likewise, into the Achæan league, by procuring him the direction of the war both by sea and land. Such was his influence over the Achæans that, as the laws did not allow him to be general for two successive years, they appointed him every other year; and in action, as well as in council, he had always in effect the chief command. For they saw it was not wealth, or glory, or the friendship of kings, or the advantage of his own country, or any thing else, that he preferred to the

[26] Euergetes I.

promotion of the Achæan power. He thought that cities in their single capacity were weak, and that they could not provide for their defence without, as it were, binding themselves together for the common good. As the members of the body cannot be nourished or live, except by their connexion with each other, and when separated, pine and decay; so cities perish, when they break off from the community to which they belong, and on the contrary gather strength and power, by becoming parts of some great body, and enjoying the fruits of the wisdom of the whole[27].

Observing therefore that all the bravest people in his neighbourhood lived according to their own laws, it gave him pain to see the Argives in slavery, and he took measures for destroying their tyrant Aristomachus[28]. Besides, he was ambitious to restore Argos to it's liberty, as a reward for the education which it had afforded him, and to unite it to the Achæan league. Without much difficulty he found some of them hardy enough to undertake the enterprise, with Æschylus and Charimenes the soothsayer at their head: but they had no swords; for they had been forbidden to keep arms, and the tyrant had laid heavy penalties on such as should be

[27] We shall here give the reader an account of some laws, by which the Achæan states were governed:

1. An extraordinary assembly was not to be summoned at the request of foreign embassadors, unless they first notified in writing, to the Prætor and Demiurgi, the subject of their embassy;

2. No city, subject to the league, was to send any embassy to a foreign prince or state, without the consent and approbation of a general diet;

3. No member of the assembly was to accept presents from foreign princes, under any pretence whatsoever;

4. No prince, state, or city was to be admitted into the league, without the consent of the whole alliance;

5. The general assembly was not to sit above three days.

[28] This Aristomachus must not be confounded with him, who was thrown into the sea at Cenchreæ. Between them reigned Aristippus (of whom, however, Polybius has made no mention), and surpassed all his brother tyrants in cruelty.

found to have any in their possession. To supply this defect, Aratus provided several daggers for them at Corinth, and having sewed them up in the pack-saddles of horses that were to carry some ordinary wares, they were thus conveyed to Argos. In the mean time Charimenes, having admitted another of his friends as an accomplice, Æschylus and his associates were so much provoked, that they cast him off, and determined to effect the business by themselves. But Charimenes perceiving their intention, in resentment of the slight, informed the tyrant of their purpose, when they were set out to carry it into execution. Upon which they fled with precipitation, and most of them escaped to Corinth.

It was not long, however, before Aristomachus was slain by one of his own servants; but, before any measures could be adopted to guard against tyranny, Aristippus seized the reins, and proved a worse tyrant than the former. Aratus, indeed, marched immediately to Argos[29] with all the Achæans able to bear arms, in order to support the citizens, whom he doubted not to find ready to assert their liberty. But they had been long accustomed to the yoke, and were willing to be slaves; insomuch that not one of them joined him, and he returned with the disadvantage of having subjected the Achæans to the imputation of committing acts of hostility in time of full peace. For this injustice they were summoned to answer before the Mantineans.

Aratus did not make his appearance at the trial, and Aristippus being the prosecutor got a fine of thirty minæ laid upon the Achæans. As that tyrant both hated and feared Aratus, he meditated his death, and Antigonus entered into the scheme. They had their emissaries in almost every quarter, watching their opportunity. But the surest guard for a prince,

[29] Polybius (ii.) places this attempt for the relief of Argos under the second Aristomachus.

or other chief, is the sincere affection of his people. For when the commons and the nobility, instead of fearing their chief magistrate, fear for him, he sees with many eyes and hears with many ears, and has a prescience of whatever is going forward. And here I cannot but leave a little the thread of my story, to describe the manner of life which Aristippus was under a necessity of leading, in order to retain in his hands that despotism, that state of an arbitrary sovereign, which is commonly so much envied and admired as the highest pitch of happiness.

This tyrant, who had Antigonus for his ally, who kept so large a body-guard, and had not left one of his enemies alive in the city, would not suffer his guards to do duty in the palace, but only in the vestibule and porticoes about it. When supper was finished, he sent away all his servants, barred the door of the hall himself, and with his mistress mounted through a trap-door into a small chamber above. Upon that door he placed his bed, and slept there as a person, in his anxious state of mind, may be supposed to sleep. The ladder by which he ascended, his mistress' mother took away and secured in another room till morning, when she brought it back and called up this wonderful prince, who crept like a reptile out of his hole. Whereas Aratus, who acquired a lasting command not by force of arms, but by virtue and in a way agreeable to the laws, who made his appearance without fear in a plain vest and cloke, and always showed himself an enemy to tyrants; left an illustrious posterity among the Greeks which flourishes at this day [30]. But of those who have seized castles, who have maintained guards, who have fenced themselves with arms and gates and barricadoes, how few can

[30] A compliment to Polycrates, whom Plutarch characterises, in the beginning of this Life, as one of his hero's descendents. The interval between Aratus and Plutarch was not less than three hundred and fifty years.*

we enumerate, that have not like timorous hares died a violent death[31]; and not one of them has left a house, a family, or even a monument, to preserve his memory with honour.

Aratus made many attempts, both private and public, to pull down Aristippus and rescue Argos out of his hands, but he always miscarried. Once he had applied his scaling-ladders, and ascended the wall with a small party, in spite of the extreme danger which threatened him. He had even succeeded so far as to kill the guards, who came to oppose him: but when day appeared, and the tyrant attacked him on all sides, the people of Argos (as if he had not been fighting for their liberty, and they were only presiding at the Nemean games) sat cool and impartial spectators of the action, without making the least motion to assist him. Aratus defended himself with the utmost courage, and though he had his thigh run through with a spear, maintained his post all day against the superior numbers of the enemy. Would his strength have permitted him to continue the combat in the night too, he must have carried his point: for the tyrant was meditating his escape, and had already sent most of his treasure on board his ships. As no one, however, gave Aratus intelligence of this circumstance, his water failing, and his wound disqualifying him from any farther personal efforts, he called off his men and retired.

He now despaired of succeeding by way of surprise, and therefore openly entered the territories of Argos with his army, and committed great devastations. He fought a pitched battle with Aristippus near the river Chares, and upon that occasion incurred the imputation of having deserted the action, and let the victory slip out of his hands. For one part of his army had clearly the advantage, and was advancing fast in the pursuit; when he, without

31 *Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci*
Descendunt reges, et siccâ morte tyranni. (Juv. x. 112.)*

being overpowered where he acted in person, merely out of fear and diffidence, retired in disorder to his camp. His men, on their return from the pursuit, expressed their indignation at being prevented from erecting the trophy, after they had put the enemy to flight, and killed many more men than they had lost. Aratus, wounded by these reproaches, determined to risk a second battle for the trophy. Accordingly, after his men had rested one day, he drew them out the next. But finding that the enemy's numbers had increased, and that their troops were in much higher spirits than before, he durst not hasard an action, but retreated, after having obtained a truce to carry off the dead. By his engaging manners, however, and his abilities in the administration, he obviated the consequences of this error, and added the city of Cleonæ[32] to the Achæan league. In Cleonæ he caused the Nemean games to be celebrated, for he thought that city had the best and most natural claim to them. The people of Argos, likewise, exhibited them; and upon this occasion the freedom and security, which had been the privilege of the champions, were first violated. The Achæans considered as enemies all who had repaired to the games at Argos, and having seized them as they passed through their territories, sold them for slaves. So violent and implacable was their general's hatred of tyrants.

Not long afterward, Aratus received intelligence that Aristippus had a design against Cleonæ, but that he was afraid of him, because he then resided at Corinth: upon which he assembled his forces by proclamation, and having ordered them to take provisions for several days, marched to Cenchreæ. By this manœuvre he hoped to bring Aristippus against Cleonæ, as supposing him at a distance: and it had it's effect. The tyrant immediately set out from Argos with his army. But it was no sooner dark,

[32] A city in Argolis, between Corinth and Argos.*

than Aratus returned from Cenchreæ to Corinth; and having placed guards in all the roads, led on the Achæans, who followed him in such good order and with so much celerity and pleasure, that they not only made their march, but entered Cleonæ that night, and marshalled themselves in order of battle: neither did Aristippus gain the least knowledge of this movement.

Next morning at break of day the gates were opened, the trumpet sounded, and Aratus advancing at full speed and with all the alarm of war fell upon the enemy, and soon routed them. He then went upon the pursuit, particularly that way which he imagined Aristippus would take; for the country had several outlets. The pursuit was continued as far as Mycenæ, and the tyrant (as Dinias informs us) was overtaken and killed by a Cretan, named Tragiscus; and of his army there were above fifteen hundred slain. Aratus, though he had gained this important victory without the loss of a single man, could not make himself master of Argos, or deliver it from slavery: for Agias and young Aristomachus entered it with the king of Macedon's troops, and continued to hold it in subjection.

This action silenced in a great measure the calumny of the enemy, and put a stop to the insolent scoffs of those, who to flatter the tyrants had not scrupled to say, that whenever the Achæan general prepared for battle, his bowels lost their retentive faculty; that when the trumpet sounded, his eyes grew dim, and his head giddy; and that when he had given the word, he used to ask his lieutenants and other officers, 'what farther need there could be of him, since the die was cast, and whether he might not retire, and wait the event of the day at some distance.' These reports had prevailed so much, that the philosophers in their inquiries in the schools, 'Whether the palpitation of the heart and change of colour on the appearance of danger were arguments of cowardice, or only of some natural defect, some

coldness in the constitution?' used always to quote Aratus as an excellent general, who yet was constantly subject to these emotions on occasion of a battle.

After he had destroyed Aristippus, he sought means to depose Lysiades the Megalopolitan, who had assumed the supreme power in his native city. This man had something generous in his nature, and was not insensible to true honour. He had not, like most other tyrants, committed this injustice out of a love of licentious pleasure, or from a motive of avarice: but incited, when very young, by a passion for glory, and unadvisedly believing, in his high-minded view of things, the false and vain accounts of the wondrous happiness of arbitrary power, he had made it his business to usurp it. He soon, however, felt it a heavy burthen: and being at once desirous to gain the happiness which Aratus enjoyed, and to deliver himself from the fear of his intriguing spirit, he formed the noblest resolution imaginable; first to get rid of the hatred, the fears, and the guards which encompassed him, and then to bestow the greatest blessing on his country. In consequence of this, he sent for Aratus, laid down the authority which he had assumed, and united the city to the Achæan leagne. The Achæans, charmed with his lofty spirit, thought it not too high a compliment to elect him general. He was no sooner appointed, than he discovered an ambition to raise his name above that of Aratus, and was by this project led to several unnecessary attempts, particularly to declare war against the Lacedæmonians. This, Aratus endeavoured to prevent, but his opposition was thought to proceed from envy. Lysiades was chosen general a second time, though Aratus exerted all his interest to procure that appointment for another; for, as we have already observed, he had the command himself only every other year. Lysiades was fortunate enough to gain that commission a third time, enjoying it alternately with Aratus. But at last avowing

himself his enemy, and often accusing him to the Achæans in full council, that people cast him off. For he appeared, with only an assumed character, to contend against real and sincere virtue. Æsop tells us, " that the cuckoo one day asked the little birds, " 'why they avoided her;' and they answered, 'it " was because they feared, she would at last prove " a hawk[33].' " In like manner it happened to Lysiades. It was suspected that, as he had been once a tyrant, his laying down his power was not quite a voluntary thing, and that he would be glad to seize the first opportunity of resuming it.

Aratus acquired new glory in the war with the Ætolians. The Achæans pressed him to engage them on the confines of Megara, and Agis king of the Lacedæmonians, who attended with an army, joined his instances to theirs; but he would not consent. They reproached him with want of spirit, with cowardice; they tried what scoffing, what ridicule could do: but he bore all their attacks with patience, and would not sacrifice the real good of the community to the fear of seeming disgrace. Upon this principle, he suffered the Ætolians to pass mount Gerania[34], and to enter Peloponnesus without the least resistance. But when he found that in their march they had seized Pellene, he was no longer the same man. Without the least delay, without waiting till all his forces were assembled, he advanced with those he had at hand against the enemy, now much weakened by their late acquisition, which had occasioned the utmost disorder and misrule. For they had no sooner entered the city, than the private men dispersed themselves in the houses, and began to scramble and fight for the booty; while the generals and other officers seized the wives and

33 No such fable of Æsop's is now extant; but there is one of 'the Hawk and other Birds,' to which this passage alludes.*

34 A mountain in Attica, so called by Megarus, who under the guidance of some cranes saved himself upon it's summit from Deucalion's flood.*

daughters of the inhabitants, and each placed his helmet upon the head of his prize, as a mark to whom she belonged, and to prevent her falling into the hands of another.

While they were thus employed, intelligence arrived that Aratus was on the point of attacking them. The consternation was such, as might be expected among men in extreme disorder. Before they were all apprised of their danger, those who were about the gates and in the suburbs had skirmished a few moments with the Achæans, and were put to flight, with a precipitation, excessively alarming to those who had assembled to support them. During this confusion one of the captives, daughter to Epigethes a person of considerable eminence in Pellene, who was remarkable for her beauty and majestic mien, was seated in the temple of Diana, where her captor had placed her, after having put his helmet adorned with three plumes of feathers on her head. This lady, hearing the noise and tumult, ran out suddenly to see what was the cause. As she stood at the door of the temple, and looked down upon the combatants with the helmet still upon her head, she appeared to the citizens a figure more than human, and the enemy took her for a deity; which struck the latter with such terror and astonishment, that they were no longer able to use their arms.

The Pellenians inform us, that the statue of the goddess stands commonly untouched, and that when the priestess moves it out of the temple in order to carry it in procession, none dare look it in the face, but on the contrary all turn away their eyes with the utmost care; for it is not only a terrible and dangerous sight to mankind, but it's look renders the trees barren, and blasts the fruits where it passes. The priestess, they add, carried it out upon this occasion, and always turning the face directly toward the Ætolians filled them with horror, and deprived them of their senses. But Aratus, in his

Commentaries, makes no mention of any such circumstance: he only says, that he put the Ætolians to flight, and entering the town with the fugitives, dislodged them by dint of sword, and killed seven hundred. This action was one of the most celebrated in history, and Timanthes[35] the painter gave a very lively and excellent representation of it.

As many powerful states however were combining against the Achæans, Aratus hastened to make peace with the Ætolians, which he not only effected by the assistance of Pantaleon, one of the most powerful men among them, but likewise entered into an alliance offensive and defensive. He had a great desire to restore Athens to it's liberty, and exposed himself to the severest censures of the Achæans by attempting to surprise the Piræus, while there was a truce subsisting between them and the Macedonians. Aratus indeed, in his Commentaries, denies the fact, and lays the blame upon Erginus, in concert with whom he had taken the citadel of Corinth. It was the exclusive scheme of Erginus, he informs us, to attempt that port: his ladder however breaking, he miscarried, and was pursued; and in order to save himself, he often called upon Aratus, as if present, by which artifice he deceived the enemy and escaped. But this defence of his wants probability to support it. It is not likely that Erginus a private man, a Syrian, would have formed a design of such consequence without having Aratus at the head of it, to supply him with troops, and to point out the opportunity for the attack. Nay, Aratus proved the same against himself, by making not only two or three, but many more attempts upon the Piræus.

35 Of Timanthes Pliny gives us a character, H. N. xxxv. 10; where however, in his enumeration of his works, he makes no mention of this particular piece. One of his most celebrated works was 'the Sacrifice of Iphigenia,' in which he threw a veil over the face of Agamemnon; and another a Cyclops, of whose size (as he was limited to a small picture) he conveyed a strong idea, by representing some young satyrs measuring his thumb with a thyrsus.*

Like a person violently in love, his miscarriages did not induce him to desist; for as his hopes were disappointed only by the failure of perhaps a single circumstance, and he was always within a little of succeeding, he still encouraged himself to proceed. In one repulse, as he fled over the fields of Thriasium[36], he broke his leg, and the cure could not be effected without several incisions; so that for some time afterward, whenever he was called to action, he was carried into the field in a litter.

After the death of Antigonus, and Demetrius' accession to the throne, Aratus was more intent than ever upon delivering Athens from the yoke, and conceived an utter contempt for the Macedonians. He was, however, defeated in a battle near Phylacia by Bithys the new king's general; and a strong report being spread on one side that he was taken prisoner, and on another that he was dead, Diogenes who commanded in the Piræus wrote a letter to Corinth, insisting, "That the Achæans should evacuate the place, since Aratus was no more." Aratus happened to be at Corinth, when the letter arrived; and the messengers, finding that their business occasioned much laughter and satirical discourse, retired in great confusion. The king of Macedon himself likewise sent a ship with orders, "That Aratus should be brought to him in chains."

The Athenians, outdoing themselves in flattery to the Macedonians, wore chaplets of flowers upon the first rumour of Aratus' death. Incensed at this treatment, he immediately marched out against them, and proceeded as far as the Academy: but they implored him to spare them, and he returned without having done them the least injury. The Athenians now became sensible of his virtue, and as upon the death of Demetrius they were determined to make an attempt for liberty, they called him in to their assistance. Though he was not general of the

[36] In Attica.*

Achæans that year, and was beside so much indisposed by long sickness as to be forced to keep his bed, he yet caused himself to be carried in a litter, to render them his best services. Accordingly he prevailed upon Diogenes, who commanded the garrison, to give up the Piræus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium to the Athenians, for the consideration of a hundred and fifty talents, twenty of which were advanced by Aratus himself. Upon this, the Æginetæ and Hermionians joined the Achæans, and a considerable part of Arcadia paid contributions to the league. The Macedonians now found employment enough for their arms nearer home; and the Achæans, numbering the Ætolians among their allies, acquired a great addition to their power.

Aratus still proceeded upon his old principles, and concerned to see tyranny established in a city so near him as that of Argos, despatched his agents to Aristomachus, to persuade him 'to restore that city to liberty, and unite it to the Achæan league; in noble emulation of the example of Lysiades, who chose to command so illustrious a people with reputation and honour as the general of their choice, rather than a single city as a tyrant exposed to perpetual danger and hatred.' Aristomachus listened to their suggestions, and desired Aratus to send him fifty talents to pay off his troops. The money was granted agreeably to his request; but Lysiades whose commission as general was not expired, and who was ambitious to have this negociation pass with the Achæans for his work, took an opportunity, while the sum was providing, of accusing Aratus to Aristomachus as a person implacably hostile to tyrants, and advised him rather to put the business into his hands. To these suggestions Aristomachus gave ear, and Lysiades had the honour of introducing him to the league. But, upon this occasion more especially, the Achæan council showed their affection and fidelity to Aratus; for, upon his speaking against Aristomachus, they rejected him with the

utmost resentment. Afterward, when Aratus was prevailed upon to undertake the management of the affair, they readily and cheerfully accepted him, and made a decree by which the Argives and Phliasians were admitted into the league. The year following, likewise, Aristomachus was appointed general.

Aristomachus, finding himself esteemed by the Achæans, was desirous of carrying his arms into Laconia, for which purpose he sent for Aratus from Athens. Aratus replied, that he utterly disapproved the expedition, not choosing that the Achæans should engage with Cleomenes[37], whose spirit and power increased with his difficulties. Aristomachus however, was bent upon the enterprise; and Aratus, yielding to his solicitations, returned to assist him in the war. Cleomenes offered him battle at Palantium, but Aratus prevented him from accepting the challenge. Upon this, Lysiades accused Aratus to the Achæans, and the year following declared himself his competitor for the command: but Aratus had the majority of votes, and was for the twelfth time declared general.

This year, he was defeated by Cleomenes at mount Lycæum; and, in his flight being forced to wander about in the night, he was supposed to have been killed. This was the second time, that a report of his death had spread over Greece. He saved himself, however, and having collected the scattered remains of his forces, was not satisfied with retiring unmolested; but availing himself in the best manner of his opportunity, when no one expected or even thought of such a manœuvre, fell suddenly upon the Mantineans who were allies to Cleomenes, took their city, secured it with a garrison, and de-

[37] Some authors write that Cleomenes, at the instigation of the Ætolians, had built a fortress in the territory of the Megalopolitans, called Athenæum, which the Achæans considering as an open rupture, declared in a general assembly, that the Lacedæmonians should be considered as enemies.

clared all the strangers he found there free of the city. In short, he obtained that for the Achæans when beaten, which they could not easily have gained if victorious.

The Lacedæmonians having again entered the territories of Megalopolis, he marched to relieve that city. Cleomenes endeavoured to bring him to an action, but he declined it, though the Megalopolitans strongly pressed him to leave the matter to the decision of the sword. For, beside that he was never very fit for disputes in the open field, he was now inferior in numbers; and at a time of life when his spirits began to fail, and his ambition was subdued, he would have had to engage with a young man of the most adventurous courage. He thought likewise that, if Cleomenes by his boldness sought to acquire glory, it became him by his caution to keep that, which he had acquired.

One day the light infantry skirmished with the Spartans, and having driven them to their camp, entered it along with them and began to plunder. Aratus even then would not lead on the main body, but kept his men on the other side of a defile that lay between, and would not suffer them to pass. Lysiades, incensed at this order and reproaching him with cowardice, called upon the cavalry to support the party in pursuit of the enemy, and not to betray the victory, nor to desert one who was about to hazard all for his country. On this, many of the best men in the army followed him to the charge, which was so vigorous, that he put the right wing of the Lacedæmonians to flight. But in the ardour of his courage and his ambition for honour, he advanced inconsiderately upon the pursuit, till he fell into an intricate way, obstructed with trees and intersected with large ditches. In this ground Cleomenes attacked and slew him, after he had maintained the most glorious of all combats, the combat for his people, almost at their own doors. The rest of the

cavalry fled, and turning back upon the main body threw the infantry into disorder, so that the rout became general.

This loss was principally imputed to Aratus, for he was thought to have abandoned Lysiades to his fate. The Achæans, therefore, retired in great anger, and obliged him to follow them to Ægium. There it was decreed in full council, that he should not be supplied with any more money, or have any mercenaries; and that, if he was determined to go to war, he must find resources for it himself. Thus ignominiously treated, he was inclined to deliver up the seal, and immediately resign his command; but, upon more mature consideration, he thought it better to bear the affront with patience. Soon after this, he led the Achæans to Orchomenus, where he gave battle to Megistonoüs the father-in-law of Cleomenes, killed three hundred of his men, and took him prisoner.

It had been customary with him to take the command every other year; but when his turn came, and he was called upon to resume it, he absolutely refused, and Timoxenus was appointed general. The reason commonly assigned for his rejecting the commission was his resentment against the people for the late dishonour, which they had done him; but the real cause was, the bad posture of the Achæan affairs. Cleomenes no longer advanced by insensible steps: he had no measures now to keep with the magistrates at home, nor any thing to fear from their opposition; for he had put the Ephori to death, distributed the lands in equal portions, and admitted many strangers citizens of Sparta. After he had thus made himself absolute master at home, he marched into Achaia, and insisted upon being appointed general of the league. Aratus therefore is highly blamed, when affairs were in such a tempestuous state, for having given up the helm to another pilot[38], when he ought rather to have taken it by force to save the community from sinking. Or, if

[38] See the Life of Cleomenes, V. 169., not. (*)

he thought the Achæan power gone beyond the possibility of retrieval, he should have yielded to Cleomenes, and not have reduced Peloponnesus into a state of fresh barbarism by Macedonian garrisons, or filled the citadel of Corinth with Illyrian and Gaulish[39] arms. For this was making those men, to whom he had shown himself superior both in his military and political capacity, and whom he had vilified so much in his Commentaries, lords of his cities, under the softer but false name of allies. It may be said, perhaps, that Cleomenes was unjust and tyrannical. Let us grant it for a moment: yet he was a descendent of the Heraclidæ, and his country was Sparta, the meanest citizen of which should have been preferred as general of the league to the first of the Macedonians, at least by those who set any value upon the dignity of Greece. Besides, Cleomenes solicited the command among the Achæans[40], only with a view of making their cities happy in his services, in return for the honour of the title: whereas Antigonus, though declared commander-in-chief both by sea and land, would not accept the commission till he was paid with the citadel of Corinth, in which he perfectly resembled Æsop's hunter[41]; for he would not ride the Achæans, though they offered their backs, and though by embassies and decrees they courted him to do it, till he had first bridled them by his garrison, and by the hostages which they were obliged to deliver to him.

[39] This appears so unaccountable a circumstance, that M. du Soul for 'Gaulish,' would read 'Ætolian' arms.*

[40] Aratus was, perhaps, apprehensive that Cleomenes would endeavour to render himself absolute among the Achæans, as he was already in Lacedæmon. There was a possibility however of his behaving with honour, as general of the Achæans, whereas from Antigonus nothing could be expected but chains. This Antigonus was surnamed Doson.

[41] Horace gives us this fable of Æsop's, Ep. I. x.

Cervus equum, pugnâ melior, communibus herbis
Pellebat, &c.——

but, before Æsop, the poet Stesichorus is said to have applied it to the Himerians, when they were going to raise a guard for Phalaris.

Aratus, it is true, labours to justify himself by the necessity of affairs. But Polybius assures us that, long before that necessity existed, he had been afraid of the daring spirit of Cleomenes, and had not only treated with Antigonus in private, but induced the Megalopolitans to propose to the general assembly of the Achæans, that Antigonus should be invited to their assistance. For, whenever Cleomenes renewed his depredations, the Megalopolitans were the first that suffered by them. Phylarchus[42] gives the same account, but we should not have afforded him much credit, if he had not been supported by the testimony of Polybius: for such is his fondness for Cleomenes, that he cannot speak of him without enthusiasm; and, as if he was pleading a cause rather than writing a history, he perpetually disparages the one, and vindicates the other.

The Achæans having lost Mantinea, which Cleomenes now took a second time, and being moreover defeated in a great battle at Hecatombœum, were so terrified that they immediately invited Cleomenes to Argos, with a promise of making him general. But Aratus no sooner perceived that he was on his march, and had brought his army as far as Lerma, than his fears gained the ascendency, and he sent embassadors to desire him to come to the Achæans as to friends and allies, with only three hundred men. They were to add that, if he had any distrust of the Achæans, they would give him hostages. Cleomenes told them, they did but insult and mock him with such a message, and returning immediately wrote a letter to the Achæan council, full of complaints and invectives against Aratus. Aratus wrote another against Cleomenes in the same stile, and they proceeded to such gross abuse, as not to spare the characters even of their wives and families.

Upon this, Cleomenes sent a herald to declare

[42] For an account of this historian, see a former note. In his partiality for Cleomenes, mentioned below, he was followed to some extent by Plutarch.*

war against the Achæans; and, in the mean time, the city of Sicyon narrowly escaped being betrayed to him. Disappointed of his expectation there, he turned against Pellene, dislodged the Achæan garrison, and secured the town for himself. A little while afterward, he took Pheneum and Penteleum; and it was not long before the people of Argos adopted his interest, and the Phliasians received his garrison. So that scarcely any thing remained firm to the Achæans, of the dominions which they had acquired; Aratus saw nothing but confusion about him; all Peloponnesus was in a tottering condition, and the cities were every where excited by innovators to revolt. None, indeed, were quiet, or satisfied with their present circumstances. Even among the Sicyonians and Corinthians many were found to entertain a correspondence with Cleomenes, having been long disaffected to the administration and the public utility, because they wished to get the power into their own hands. Aratus was invested with full authority to punish the delinquents. The corrupt members of Sicyon he cut off; but by seeking for such in Corinth, in order to put them to death, he exasperated the people, already sick of the same distemper and weary of the Achæan government[43]. Upon this occasion they assembled in the temple of Apollo, and sent for Aratus, being determined either to kill him or take him prisoner, before they proceeded to an open revolt. He came leading his horse, as if he had not the least mistrust or suspicion. When they saw him at the gate, a number of them rose up, and loaded him with reproaches. But he with a composed countenance and mild address bade them sit down again, and not by standing in the way, and making such a disorderly noise, prevent other citizens who were at the door from entering. At the same time that he said this, he drew

[43] What wonder, when they saw Aratus unfaithful to his first principles, and about to reduce them afresh under the Macedonian yoke?

back step by step, as if he were seeking somebody to take his horse. Thus he got out of the crowd, and continued to talk without the least appearance of confusion to such of the Corinthians as he met, desiring them to go to the temple, till he insensibly approached the citadel. He then vaulted upon his horse, and having ordered Cleopater the governor to keep a strict guard upon it, rode off to Sicyon, followed by only thirty soldiers, for the rest had left him and dispersed.

The Corinthians, quickly apprised of his flight, went in pursuit of him; but failing in their design, they sent for Cleomenes, and put the city into his hands. He did not, however, think this advantage equal to his loss in their having suffered Aratus to escape. As soon as the inhabitans of [that district on the coast called] Acte had surrendered their towns, he shut up the citadel with a wall of circumvallation, and a palisadoed entrenchment.

In the mean time many of the Achæans repaired to Aratus at Sicyon, and a general assembly was held, in which he was chosen commander-in-chief with an unlimited commission. He now first took a guard, and it was composed of his fellow-citizens. He had conducted the Achæan administration three and thirty years, and had been the greatest man in Greece, both in power and reputation: but he found himself at this time abandoned, indigent, and persecuted; without any thing but a single plank to trust to, in the perilous storm that had shipwrecked his country. For the Ætolians had refused him the assistance, which he requested; and the city of Athens, though well inclined to serve him, was prevented by Euclides and Micion.

Aratus had a house and valuable effects at Corinth. Cleomenes would not touch any thing that belonged to him, but sent for his friends and agents, and charged them to take the utmost care of his property, as remembering that they must give an account to it's owner. To Aratus himself he privately

sent Tripylus, and afterward his father-in-law Megistonöus, with high offers, and among the rest a pension of twelve talents, which was double the yearly allowance he had from Ptolemy. In return for this, he desired to be appointed general of the Achæans, and to be associated with him in the care of the citadel of Corinth. Aratus answered, "That he did "not now govern affairs, but they governed him." As there appeared an insincerity in this answer, Cleomenes entered the territories of Sicyon, and committed dreadful devastations. He likewise blocked up the city for three months together, during all which time Aratus was debating within himself, whether or not he should surrender the citadel to Antigonus: for he would not send him succours upon any other condition.

Before he could form his resolution, the Achæans met in council at Ægium[44], and summoned him to attend it. As the town was invested by Cleomenes, it was dangerous to pass. The citizens entreated him not to go, and declared that they would not suffer him to expose himself to an enemy, who was watching for his prey. The matrons and their children likewise hung upon him, and wept for him as for a common parent and protector. He consoled them however as well as he could, and rode down to the sea-side, taking with him ten of his friends and his son, who was now approaching to manhood. Finding some vessels at anchor, he went on board, and arrived safe at Ægium. There he held an assembly, in which it was decreed that Antigonus should be called in, and the citadel surrendered to him. Aratus sent his own son among the other hostages; which the Corinthians so much resented, that they plundered his goods, and made a present of his house to Cleomenes.

As Antigonus was now approaching with his army

44 A maritime city of Achaia, not far from the mouth of the gulf of Corinth. Pegæ, mentioned below, is situated at the north-eastern extremity of the same gulf.*

(which consisted of twenty thousand foot, all Macedonians, and of fourteen hundred horse), Aratus went with the Demiurgi[45] by sea, and without being discovered by the enemy met him at Pegæ, though he placed not much confidence in Antigonus, and distrusted the Macedonians. For he knew that his greatness had been owing to the mischiefs which he had done them, and that he had first risen to the direction of affairs in consequence of his hatred to old Antigonus. But seeing an indispensable necessity before him, such an occasion as those who seemed to command are forced to obey, he faced the danger. When Antigonus was told that Aratus was come in person, he gave the rest a common welcome, but received him in the most honourable manner, and finding him upon trial to be a man of probity and prudence, admitted him into his most intimate friendship. He was both serviceable to the king indeed in his affairs of importance, and in his hours of leisure his most agreeable companion. Antigonus therefore though young, perceiving in him such a temper and such other qualities as fitted him for a prince's friendship, preferred him not only to the rest of the Achæans, but even to the Macedonians that were about him, and continued to employ him in every affair of consequence. Thus what the gods had announced, by the entrails of one of the victims, was accomplished. For it is said, that when Aratus was sacrificing not long before, there appeared in the liver two gall-bladders enclosed in the same caul; upon which, the soothsayer declared that two enemies, then apparently the most irreconcileable, would soon be united in the strictest friendship. Aratus at that time took little notice of the saying, for he never put much faith in victims, nor indeed in predictions from any thing else, but used to depend upon his reason. Some time afterward however,

[45] The Achæan magistrates. See an account of them before, and Hesych. in *voc.*

when the war went on successfully, Antigonus gave an entertainment at Corinth; at which, though there was a numerous company, he placed Aratus next above him. They had not sat long, before Antigonus called for a cloke. At the same time he asked Aratus, "Whether he did not think it very "cold?" and upon his replying that "He quite "shivered," he desired him to sit nearer, so that the servants who brought the cloke put it over the shoulders of both. This reminding Aratus of the victim, he laughingly informed the king both of the sign and the prediction. But all this occurred long after the time, that we are now writing about.

While they were at Pegæ, they took oaths of mutual fidelity, and then marched against the enemy. Several actions ensued under the walls of Corinth, in which Cleomenes had strongly fortified himself, and the Corinthians defended the place with great vigour.

In the mean time Aristotle, a citizen of Argos and a friend of Aratus, despatched an agent to him in private, with an offer of inducing that city to declare for him, if he would go thither in person with a few troops. Aratus having apprised Antigonus of this scheme, embarked fifteen hundred men, and immediately sailed with them from the Isthmus to Epidaurus. But the people of Argos, without waiting for his arrival, had attacked the troops of Cleomenes, and shut them up in the citadel. Cleomenes having notice of this, and fearing that the enemy, if they were in possession of Argos, might intercept his retreat to Lacedæmon, left his post before the citadel of Corinth the same night, and marched to their succour. He reached Argos before Aratus, and gained some advantage over the enemy; but Aratus arriving soon afterward, and the king appearing with his army, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

Upon this, all the cities again joined the Achæans, Antigonus made himself master of the citadel of Corinth, and the Argives having appointed Aratus

their general, he persuaded them to bestow upon Antigonus the estates of the late tyrants and of all the traitors. That people put Aristomachus to the torture at Cenchreæ[46], and afterward drowned him in the sea. Aratus was much censured upon this occasion, for having permitted a man to suffer unjustly, who was not of a bad character, with whom he had formerly been connected, and who at his persuasion had abdicated the supreme power, and brought Argos to unite itself to the Achæan league. There were other charges against Aratus, viz. that at his instigation the Achæans had surrendered the city of Corinth to Antigonus, as if it had been no more than an ordinary village; that they had suffered him to pillage Orchomenus, and place in it a Macedonian garrison; that they had decreed their community should not send a letter or an embassy to any other king, without the consent of Antigonus; that they were forced to maintain, and pay, the Macedonians; and that they had instituted sacrifices, libations, and games in honour of that prince: the fellow-citizens of Aratus having set the example, and received him into their city, upon which occasion Aratus entertained him in his own house. For all these things they blamed Aratus, not considering that when he had once put the reins into that prince's hands, he was necessarily carried along with the career of regal power; no longer master of any thing but his tongue, and finding it dangerous to use even that with freedom. For he was visibly hurt by many circumstances of the king's conduct, particularly with respect to the statues. Antigonus erected anew those of the tyrants, which Aratus had pulled down, and demolished those which he had set up in memory of the brave men,

[46] Plutarch seems here to have followed Phylarchus. But Polybius (ii.) says, that Aristomachus deserved greater punishments than he suffered, not only for his extreme cruelty when tyrant of Argos, but also for his having forsaken the Achæans in their distress, and declared for their enemies.

that surprised the citadel of Corinth. That of Aratus alone was spared, notwithstanding his intercession for the rest. In the affair of Mantinea [47], likewise, the behaviour of the Achæans was not suitable to the Grecian humanity; for having conquered it by means of Antigonus, they put the principal and most illustrious inhabitants to the sword, some of the rest they sold or sent in fetters to Macedon, and of the women and children they made slaves. Of the money thus raised they divided a third part among themselves, and gave the rest to the Macedonians. But this had it's excuse in the law of reprisals. For, however shocking it may appear that men should sacrifice to their anger those of their own nation and kindred, yet in necessity (as Simonides observes) it seems rather a proper alleviation, than a hardship, to give relief to a mind inflamed and aching with resentment [48]. But, as to what Aratus did afterward with respect to Mantinea, it is impossible to justify him upon a plea either of propriety or necessity. For Antigonus having made a present of that city to the Argives, they resolved to repeople it, and appointed Aratus to see it done; by virtue of which commission, as well as that of general, he decreed that it should no more be called Mantinea but Antigonea, the name it still bears. Thus by his means Mantinea ("the lovely Mantinea," as Homer [49] pronounces it) was no more; and, in it's place, we

47 The Mantineans had applied to the Achæans for a garrison, to defend them against the Lacedæmonians. In compliance with their request, the Achæans sent them three hundred of their own citizens, and two hundred mercenaries. But the Mantineans, soon afterward changing their minds, in the most perfidious manner massacred the garrison. They merited, therefore, all that they are here said to have suffered; Polybius (ii.), however, makes no mention of the principal inhabitants having been put to death; he only says, their goods were plundered, and some of the people sold for slaves; though, for their treacherous conduct, they had deserved a much less moderate treatment.

48 This is a sentiment, surely, unworthy of the mild and gentle Plutarch. How differently would a Christian apostle have commented upon such an occasion!*

49 Il. ii. 607.*

have a city named from the man who destroyed and ruined it's inhabitants.

Some time after this, Cleomenes being overthrown in a great battle near Sellasia[50] quitted Sparta, and sailed to Egypt. As for Antigonus, after the kindest and most honourable behaviour to Aratus, he returned to Macedon. In his sickness there, which happened soon after his arrival, he sent Philip (at that time very young, but already declared his successor) into Peloponnesus; having first instructed him above all things to pay the utmost attention to Aratus, and through him to treat with the cities, and make himself known to the Achæans. Aratus received him with great honour, and managed him so well, that he returned to Macedon full of sentiments of respect for his friend, and in the most favourable and zealous disposition for the interests of Greece.

After the death of Antigonus, the Ætolians despised the inactivity of the Achæans; for accustomed to the protection of foreign arms, and sheltering themselves under the Macedonian power, they sunk into a state of idleness and disorder[51]. This gave the Ætolians room to attempt a footing in Pelopon-

[50] Cleomenes had entrenched himself so strongly near Sellasia, in a narrow pass between the mountains Eva and Olympus, that Antigonus did not think proper to attack him there. It is not easy to comprehend, what could induce Cleomenes to come out of these entrenchments, and risk a pitched battle. His troops were not so numerous as the enemy's by one-third, and he was supplied with all kinds of provisions from Sparta: What then could make him hasard an action, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon? Polybius, indeed, seems to insinuate the cause of this proceeding. According to him, Ptolemy king of Egypt, who had promised to assist him in this war, had sent him word that he was not in a condition to make good his engagements. And as Cleomenes did not choose to try the other part of the alternative, that of suing to Antigonus for a peace, he ventured all upon the issue of that day.

[51] See Polyb. iv. Patræ, mentioned below, was a considerable city in the north-west, and Dyme in the west of Achaia, whence indeed (as Strabo, viii., informs us) it had it's appellation; though Pausanias, vii. 17., derives it from a man or a woman of a similar name.*

nesus. By the way they made some booty in the country about Patræ and Dyme, and then proceeded to Messene, and laid waste it's territories. Aratus was incensed at this insolence; but he perceived that Timoxenus, who was then general, took slow and dilatory measures, because his year was almost expired [52]. As he was to succeed therefore to the command, he anticipated his commission by five days, for the sake of assisting the Messenians. He assembled the Achæans, but they had now neither exercise nor courage to enable them to maintain the combat, and consequently he was beaten in a battle which he fought at Caphyæ. Being accused of having ventured too much upon this occasion [53], he became afterward so cold, and so far abandoned his hopes for the public, as to neglect the opportunities which the Ætolians gave him, and suffer them to roam about Peloponnesus in a kind of bacchanalian manner, committing all the excesses that insolence could suggest.

The Achæans were, in consequence, again obliged to stretch out their hands toward Macedon, and brought Philip to interfere in the affairs of Greece.

[52] See Polyb. iv.*

[53] Aratus was accused in the assembly, first, of having taken the command upon him before his time; next, of having dismissed the Achæan troops, while the Ætolians were still in the heart of Peloponnesus; thirdly, of having risked an action with so few troops, when he might easily have made a safe retreat to the neighbouring towns and there reinforced his army. But the last and heaviest charge against him was, that after he had resolved to give the enemy battle, he did not in the whole action take a single step worthy of an experienced general. For he sent the cavalry and light-armed foot to attack the enemy's rear, after their front had gained the advantage; whereas he ought to have encountered the front at first with the advantage of having them on the declivity, in which case his heavy-armed infantry would have done him great service. He endeavoured, however, to prove that the loss of the battle was not his fault; adding, that if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able general, he asked pardon, and hoped in regard of his past services they would not censure him with rigour, This submission of his changed the minds of the whole assembly, and the people began to vent their rage upon his accusers. (Polyb. ib.)

They knew the regard which he had for Aratus, and the confidence he placed in him, and trusted upon that account to find him tractable and easy in all their affairs. But the king now first began to listen to Apelles, Megalæus, and other courtiers who endeavoured to darken the character of Aratus, and prevailed upon him to support the contrary party, by which means Eperatus was elected general of the Achæans. Eperatus, however, soon fell into the greatest contempt among them; and, as Aratus would not give any attention to their concerns, nothing went on well. Philip, finding that he had committed a capital error, turned again to Aratus, and surrendered himself entirely to his direction. As his affairs now prospered, and his power and reputation grew under the culture of that chieftain, he depended entirely upon him for the farther increase of both. It was evident, indeed, to all the world that Aratus had excellent talents, not only for guiding a commonwealth, but a kingdom too. For there appeared a tincture of his principles and manners in the whole conduct of this young prince. Thus the moderation with which he treated the Spartans[54] after they had offended him, his engaging behaviour to the Cretans by which he conciliated the whole island in a few days, and the glorious success of his expedition against the Ætolians, gained Philip the honour of knowing how to follow good counsel, and Aratus that of being able to give it.

Upon this account, the courtiers envied him still

[54] The Spartans had killed Adimas, one of the Ephori, and others of their citizens who were in the interest of Philip, and some of his counsellors advised him to revenge the affront with rigour. But he said that, as the Spartans now belonged to the Achæan league, they were accountable to it; and that it ill became him to treat with severity his allies, when his predecessor had extended his clemency to them, though enemies. (L.) See Polyb. ii. This historian, though he says nothing of his behaviour to the Cretans here alluded to, gives the particulars of his expedition against the Ætolians in detail, in his fourth and fifth books.*

more; and as they found that their private engines of calumny availed nothing, they began to try open battery, reviling and insulting him at table with the utmost effrontery, and the lowest abuse. Nay, once they threw stones at him, as he was retiring from supper to his tent. Philip, incensed at this outrage, fined them twenty talents, and upon their proceeding to disturb and embroil his affairs, put them to death.

But afterward he was carried so high by the flow of prosperity, as to discover many disorderly passions. The native badness of his disposition broke through the veil, which he had thrown over it, and by degrees his real character appeared. In the first place, he deeply injured young Aratus by corrupting his wife; and this commerce was a long time kept secret, because he lived beneath his roof, where he had been received under the sanction of hospitality [55]. He next discovered a strong dislike to commonwealths, and to the cities that were under that form of government. It was easy to be seen, likewise, that he sought to shake off Aratus. The first suspicion of his intentions arose from his behaviour with respect to the Messenians. There were two factions among them, which had raised a sedition in the city. Aratus went to reconcile them; but Philip, getting to the place a day before him, added stings to their mutual hostility. On the one hand, he assembled the magistrates in private, and asked them, "Whether they had not laws to restrain "the rabble?" and on the other, he asked the demagogues, "Whether they had not hands to defend "them against tyrants?" The magistrates, thus encouraged, attacked the popular leaders; and they in their turn availing themselves of the advantage of superior numbers, murthered the magistrates, with nearly two hundred more of their party.

After Philip had engaged in these detestable

[55] For the particulars of this transaction, and Philip's general change of conduct, see Livy, xxvii. 31., and Polyb. iv.*

practices, which exasperated the Messenians still more against each other, Aratus upon his arrival made no secret of his resentment, neither did he check his son in the severe and disparaging things which he said to Philip. The young man had once had a particular attachment to Philip, which in those days they distinguished by the name of love; but upon this occasion he scrupled not to tell him, "That after such a base action, instead "of appearing agreeable, he was the ugliest of "mankind."

Philip made no answer, though anger was evidently working in his bosom, and he often muttered to himself while the other was speaking. He pretended, however, to bear it with the utmost calmness, and affecting to appear the man of subdued temper and refined manners gave the elder Aratus his hand, and took him from the theatre to the castle of Ithome[56], under pretence of sacrificing to Jupiter and visiting the place. This fort (which is as strong as the citadel of Corinth), were it garrisoned, would extremely annoy the neighbouring country, and be almost impregnable. After Philip had offered his sacrifice there, and the soothsayer had brought him the entrails of the ox, he took them in both hands, and showed them to Aratus and Demetrius of Phariæ, turning them sometimes to one and sometimes to the other, and asking them, "What they saw in the entrails of the victim; whe-"ther they warned him to retain this citadel, or to "restore it to the Messenians?" Demetrius smiled and said, "If you have the soul of a soothsayer, you "will restore it[57]; but, if that of a king, you will

[56] In the printed text it is 'Ithomata,' which agrees with the appellation given to this fort by Polybius; but one of the MSS. has 'Ithome,' which is it's name in Strabo. It was a city in Messenia. For an account of the subjoined conversation, see Polyb. vii.

[57] Meaning perhaps, 'be determined, whether to restore it or not, by the principles of divination.'*

"hold the bull by both his horns." By which he hinted, that he would keep Peloponnesus in entire subjection, if he added Ithome to the citadel of Corinth. Aratus remained for a long time silent; but upon Philip's pressing him to declare his opinion, he said, "There are many mountains of great "strength in Crete, many castles in lofty situations "in Bœotia and Phocis, and many impregnable "places in Acarnania, both on the coast and within "land. You have seized none of these, and yet "they all pay you a voluntary obedience. Robbers, "indeed, cling to rocks and precipices for security; "but for a king, there is no such fortress as honour "and humanity. These are the things which have "opened to you the Cretan sea, these have unbarred "to you the gates of Peloponnesus. By these, in "short, it is that at so early a period in life you "are become general of the one, and sovereign of "the other." While he was yet speaking, Philip returned the entrails to the soothsayer; and taking Aratus by the hand drew him along and said, "Come "on then, let us go as we came:" intimating that he had over-ruled him, and deprived him of such an acquisition as that city would have proved.

After this Aratus began to withdraw from court, and gradually to give up all correspondence with Philip. He refused also to accompany him in his expedition into Epirus, though applied to for that purpose; choosing to stay at home, lest he should share in the disrepute of his actions. But when Philip had lost his fleet with the utmost disgrace in the Roman war, and nothing succeeded to his wish, he returned to Peloponnesus, and tried once more what art could effect to impose upon the Messenians. Finding however that his designs were discovered, he had recourse to open hostilities, and ravaged their country. Aratus then saw all his meanness, and broke with him entirely. By this time, likewise, he had learned that he had dishonoured his son's bed; but though the injury lay

heavy on him, he concealed it from his son, because he could only inform him that he had been ill-used, without being able to help him to the means of revenge. There seemed to be a great and unnatural change in Philip, who from a mild and sober young Prince had become a libidinous and cruel tyrant: but in fact, it was not a change of disposition; it was only discovering in a time of full security the vices, which his fears had long concealed. That his regard for Aratus had originally a considerable mixture of fear and reverence, appeared even from the method, which he took to destroy him. For though he was very desirous of effecting that cruel purpose, because he neither looked upon himself as an absolute prince, or a king, or even a freeman, so long as Aratus lived; yet he would not attempt any thing against him in the way of open force, but desired Taurion, one of his friends and generals, to take him off in a private manner in his absence. At the same time, he recommended poison. That officer accordingly, having formed an acquaintance with him, gave him a dose not of a sharp or violent kind, but such a one as causes lingering heats and a deep cough, and gradually brings the body to decay. Aratus was not ignorant of the cause of his disorder; but, knowing that it availed nothing to discover it to the world, he bore it quietly and in silence, as if it had been an ordinary distemper. When one of his friends, indeed, came to visit him in his chamber, and expressed his surprise at seeing him spit blood, he said; "Such, Cephalon, are the "fruits of royal friendship [58]."

Thus died Aratus at Ægium [59], after he had been seventeen times general of the Achæans. That people were desirous of having him buried there,

[58] Juvenal knew the *miseræ magnæque pallor amicitiæ*, iv. 75: And David appears to have formed nearly a similar estimate of the stability of princely regard. Ps. cxlvi. 2.*

[59] B. C. 213, and, according to Blair, Æt. 62.; but Ricard says, only 58.*

and would have deemed it an honour to give him a magnificent funeral, and a monument worthy of his life and character. But the Sicyonians considered it as a misfortune to have him interred any where but among themselves, and therefore persuaded the Achæans to indulge them with the disposal of the body. As there was an ancient law that had been observed with religious care, against burying any person within their walls, and they were afraid to transgress it upon this occasion, they sent to Delphi to inquire of the priestess of Apollo, and received from her this answer;

> What holy rites for liberty restored
> Sicyon shall pay to her departed lord,
> She asks; who grudges him a resting-place,
> Of earth, and skies, and seas is the disgrace.

This oracle gave great joy to all the Achæans, particularly to the people of Sicyon. They changed the day of mourning into a festival, and adorning themselves with garlands and white robes, brought the corpse with songs and dances from Ægium to Sicyon. There they selected the most conspicuous ground, and interred him as the founder and deliverer of their city. The place is still called Aratium, and there they offer two yearly sacrifices; one on the fifth of the month Dæsius (which the Athenians called Anthesterion), the day upon which he delivered the city from the yoke of tyrants, whence they denominate the festival Soteria, and the other on his birth-day. The first sacrifice was offered by the priest of Jupiter the Preserver, and the second by the son of Aratus, who upon that occasion wore a girdle[60], not entirely white, but with a stripe of purple in the midst. The music was sung to the harp by the choir, belonging to the theatre. The procession was led up by the master of the Gymnasium, at the head of the boys and young men; the

60 Στρεφιον signifies also 'a fillet.'

senate followed crowned with flowers, and such other of the citizens as chose to attend. Some small marks of the ceremonies observed upon those days still remain, but the chief part is worn out by time and other circumstances.

Such was the life and character, that history has given us of the elder Aratus. And as to the younger, Philip, who was naturally wicked and delighted to add insolence to cruelty, gave him potions, not of the deadly kind, but such as deprived him of reason; insomuch that he was led to feel inclinations shocking and monstrous, and to delight in things which not only dishonoured but destroyed him. Death therefore, which took him off in the flower of his age, was considered not as a misfortune, but a deliverance. The vengeance however of Jupiter, the patron of hospitality and friendship, visited Philip for his breach of both, and pursued him throughout life. For he was beaten by the Romans, and forced to yield himself to their discretion. In consequence of which he was stripped of all his acquisitions, surrendered the whole of his ships except five, obliged himself to pay a thousand talents, and delivered his son as a hostage. He even held Macedon, and it's dependencies, at the mercy of the conquerors. Amidst all these misfortunes he possessed only one blessing, a son of superior virtue, and him he put to death, from his envy and jealousy of the honours which the Romans paid him. His crown he left to his other son Perseus, who was believed not to be his, but a supposititious child born of a sempstress named Gnathænium. It was over him, that Paulus Æmilius triumphed, and in him ended the royal race of Antigonus[61]; whereas the posterity of Aratus remained to our days, and still continues in Sicyon and Pellene.

[61] See the Life of Demetrius, V. note (67.)*

THE

LIFE

OF

GALBA.

SUMMARY

Danger of undisciplined troops. Changes among the Romans after the death of Nero. Birth and outset of Galba: his behaviour in the government of Spain. He places himself at the head of Vindex's revolted troops: how Nero receives the news. Galba repents of the measure: learns that the people and senate have declared him emperor. Great influence of Nymphidius Sabinus at Rome. He aspires secretly to the supreme power. Virginius Rufus acknowledges Galba, who receives an embassy from the senate. Character of Titus Vinius. Nymphidius jealous of his interest with Galba: attempts to supplant the new emperor. Antonius Honoratus secures the prætorian cohort to Galba. Nymphidius is slain. Tyrannical acts of Galba. Insolence of the legion of seamen: Galba orders the cavalry to fall upon them; compels the stage-players, &c. to refund Nero's bounties. Vinius leads him into this sordid conduct. General hatred of Galba. He resolves to adopt a successor. Otho. How he insinuates himself into Galba's good graces. Vinius recommends his adoption. The German army proclaim Vitellius emperor. Galba goes to the camp to declare Piso his successor. Otho intrigues with the army at Rome, and is proclaimed emperor. A report of his death. Galba is slain. Otho declared emperor by the senate. Character of Galba.

IPHICRATES, the Athenian general, thought that a soldier of fortune should have an attachment both to money[1] and pleasure, that his passions might induce him to fight with more boldness for a supply. But most others are of opinion that the main body of an army, like the healthy natural body, should have no motion of it's own, but be entirely guided by the head. Hence Paulus Æmilius, when he found his army in Macedon talkative, busy, and ready to direct their general, is said to have issued orders; "That each should keep his hand fit for "action, and his sword sharp, and leave the rest to "him." And Plato perceiving that the best general cannot undertake any thing with success, unless his troops be sober and perfectly united to support him, concluded that to know how to obey required as generous a disposition, and as rational an education, as to know how to command: as these advantages would correct the violence and impetuosity of the soldier by the mildness and humanity of the philosopher. Among other fatal examples, what happened among the Romans after the death of Nero is sufficient to prove, that nothing is more dreadful than an undisciplined army actuated only by the impulse of their own ferocity. Demades, observing the wild and violent motions of the Macedonian army after the death of Alexander, compared it to the Cyclops[2], after his eye was put out. But the Roman empire more resembled the extravagant passions and ravings of the Titans, as related by the poets, when it was torn in pieces by rebellion, and turned it's arms against itself; not so much through the ambition of the emperors, as the avarice and licentiousness of the soldiers, who drove out emperors like nails one by another.

[1] This is illustrated by Lucullus' soldier, in Horace;

——*ibit ẽo, qui zonam perdidit, inquit.* (Ep. II. ii. 40.)*

[2] Polyphemus.

Dionysius the Sicilian speaking of a tyrant of Pheræ, who reigned in Thessaly only ten months, and was then slain, in derision of the sudden change called him a 'theatrical tyrant.' But the palace of the Cæsars received four emperors in a less space of time, one entering and another making his exit, as if they had only been acting a part upon a stage. The Romans indeed had one consolation amidst their misfortunes, that they needed no other revenge upon the authors of them, than to see them destroy each other: and with the greatest justice those fell the first, who had corrupted the army, and taught them to expect so much upon the change of emperor; thus dishonouring a glorious action by mercenary considerations, and turning the revolt from Nero into treason. For Nymphidius Sabinus (who, as we observed before[3], was joined in commission with Tigellinus, as captain of the prætorian cohorts) after Nero's affairs had become desperate, and it was plain that he intended to retire into Egypt, persuaded the army, as if Nero had already abdicated, to declare Galba emperor; promising every soldier of the prætorian cohorts seven thousand five hundred drachmas, and the troops quartered in the provinces twelve hundred and fifty drachmas a man; a sum, which it was impossible to collect, without doing infinitely more mischief to the empire than Nero had done in his whole reign.

This proved the immediate ruin of Nero, and soon afterward destroyed Galba himself. The soldiers deserted Nero in hopes of receiving the money, and despatched Galba because they did not receive it. They subsequently sought for another, who might pay them that sum; but they ruined themselves by their rebellions and treasons, without gaining what they had been taught to expect. To give a complete and exact account of the affairs of those

[3] In the Life of Nero, which is lost. It is supposed, that Plutarch had written the Lives of the Twelve Cæsars.*

times, belongs to the professed historian. It falls, however, within my province to lay before the reader the most remarkable circumstances in the lives of the Cæsars.

It is an acknowledged truth, that Sulpitius Galba was the richest private man, who ever rose to the imperial dignity. But though his extraction was of the noblest, from the family of the Servii, he yet thought it a greater honour to be related [4] to Quintus Catulus Capitolinus, who was the first man in his time for virtue and reputation, though he voluntarily ceded to others the pre-eminence in power. He was also related to Livia [5] the wife of Augustus, and by her interest had been raised from the office which he held in the palace, to the dignity of consul. It is said, that he acquitted himself of his commission in Germany with honour; and that he gained more credit than most commanders, during his proconsulate in Africa [6]. But his simple parsimonious way of living passed for avarice in an emperor; and the pride, which he then took in economy and strict temperance, was afterward out of character.

He was sent governor into Spain by Nero, before that emperor had learned to fear such of the citizens, as had great authority in Rome. Besides, the mildness of his temper and his advanced time of life promised a cautious and prudent conduct. The emperor's receivers-general [7], an abandoned set of men, harassed the provinces in the most cruel manner. Galba could not assist them against their persecutors; but his concern for their misfortunes,

[4] See Suet. Galb. 2.*

[5] In consequence of his attention to her, she bequeathed him an immense legacy, which however Tiberius very considerably reduced, and, so reduced, never paid. (Id. ib. 5.)*

[6] This lasted two years, and that amidst domestic and foreign tumults, which he happily composed. (Id. ib. 7.)*

[7] Ἐπίτροποι, *procuratores*; These men had full powers to collect the revenues, and stuck at no acts of oppression in the course of their proceedings. They were originally appointed by Augustus. (Dion. Cass. liii. 15.)

which appeared not less than if he had been a sufferer himself, afforded them some consolation, even while they were condemned and sold for slaves. Many songs were made upon Nero, and sung every where; and as Galba did not endeavour to suppress them, or join the receivers-general in their resentment, this circumstance endeared him still more to the natives. For he had now contracted a friendship with them, having long been their governor. He had borne that commission eight years, when Junius Vindex, who commanded in Gaul, revolted against Nero. Galba, it is said, before this rebellion broke out, had intimations of it in letters from Vindex; but he neither countenanced nor discovered it, as the governors of other provinces did, who sent the letters they had received to Nero, and thus did all they could to ruin the project. Yet those same governors, by subsequently joining in the conspiracy against their prince, evinced that they could betray, not only Vindex but themselves.

After Vindex however had openly commenced hostilities, he wrote to Galba, desiring him "To accept the imperial dignity, and give a head to the strong Gallic body which so much wanted one; which had not fewer than a hundred thousand men in arms, and was able to raise a still greater number."

Galba then called a council of his friends. Some of them advised him to wait, and observe what motions, or inclinations for a change, there might be in Rome. But Titus Vinius, captain of one of the prætorian cohorts, said; "What room is there, "Galba, for deliberation? To inquire, whether we "shall continue faithful to Nero, is to have already "revolted [8]. There is no medium, We must either "accept the friendship of Vindex, as if Nero was "our declared enemy; or accuse and fight Vindex, "because he desires that the Romans should have

[8] *Qui deliberant, desciverunt.* (Tac. Hist. ii. 77.)*

"Galba for their emperor, rather than Nero for "their tyrant." Upon this Galba, by an edict, fixed a day for enfranchising all that should present themselves. The report of this quickly drew together a multitude of people, who were desirous of a change; and he had no sooner mounted the tribunal, than with one voice they declared him emperor. Without immediately accepting the title, he accused Nero of great crimes, and lamented the fate of many Romans of distinction whom he had barbarously slain: after which he declared, "That he would serve his "country with his best abilities, not as Cæsar or "emperor, but as lieutenant to the senate and peo-"ple of Rome[9]."

That it was a just and rational scheme, which Vindex adopted in calling Galba to the empire, requires no better proof than Nero himself. For though he pretended to look upon the commotions in Gaul as nothing, yet when he received the news of Galba's revolt, which he happened to do just after he had bathed and sat down to supper, in his madness he overturned the table. When the senate, however, had declared Galba an enemy to his country, he affected to despise the danger, and attempting to be merry upon it said to his friends; "I have "long wanted a pretence to raise money, and this "will furnish me with an excellent one. The Gauls, "when I have conquered them, will be a fine booty, "and in the mean time I will take possession of "Galba's estate, since he is a declared enemy, and "dispose of it as I think fit." Accordingly, he issued directions that it should be sold; which Galba no sooner heard, than he exposed to sale all that belonged to Nero in Spain, and more readily found purchasers.

The revolt from Nero soon became general, and

[9] Dion Cassius informs us, that this declaration was made nine months and thirteen days before Galba's death, and consequently on the third of April, A. D. 68: for he was assassinated on the fifteenth of January in the following year.

the governors of provinces declared for Galba; only Clodius Macer in Africa, and Virginius Rufus in Germany, stood out and acted for themselves, but upon different motives. Clodius being conscious to himself of much rapine and many murthers, to which his avarice and cruelty had prompted him, was in a fluctuating state, and could not resolve either to assume or reject the purple: and Virginius, who commanded some of the best legions in the empire, and had been often urged by them to take the title of emperor, declared; "That he would neither take "it himself, nor suffer it to be taken by any other, "but the person whom the senate should name."

At this Galba was, at first, not a little alarmed. But after the forces of Virginius and Vindex had overpowered their generals, like charioteers no longer able to guide the reins, and forced them to fight, Vindex lost twenty thousand Gauls in the battle, and despatched himself. A report was then current that the victorious army, in consequence of so signal an advantage, would insist upon Virginius' acceptance of the imperial dignity, and that if he refused it, they would turn again to Nero. This threw Galba into great consternation, and he wrote letters to Virginius, exhorting him to act in concert with him for preserving the empire and liberty of the Romans. After which he retired with his friends to Colonia[10], a city in Spain, and there spent some time; rather in repenting of what he had done, and wishing for the life of ease and leisure to which he had so long been accustomed, than taking any of the necessary steps for his success.

It was now the beginning of summer, when one evening a little before night one of Galba's freedmen, a native of Sicily[11], arrived in seven days from Rome. Being told that Galba was retired to rest,

[10] Some read Clunia, a city of Hispania Tarraconensis. See Plin. H. N. iii. 3.*

[11] Instead of Σικελος, should be read Ικελος, Icelus, after Suet. Ner. 49. and Galb. 14., as well as from it's recurrence below.*

he ran up to his chamber, and having opened it in spite of the resistance of the chamberlains, informed him; "That as Nero did not appear, though he was "at that time living, the army first and subsequently "the people and senate of Rome had declared Galba "emperor, and that intelligence was quickly brought "of Nero's death." To this he added, "That not "satisfied with the report, he went and saw the "dead body of the tyrant, before he set out." Galba, highly elevated by this intelligence, encouraged the multitudes who quickly gathered round the door by communicating it to them, though the expedition with which it had been conveyed appeared incredible. But two days afterward Titus Vinius, with many others, arrived from the camp, and brought a confirmation of the account. Vinius[12] was promoted to an honourable employment; while the freedman had his name changed from Icelus to Martianus, was honoured with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and had more attention paid to him than any of the rest of the freedmen.

In the mean time, at Rome Nymphidius Sabinus got the administration into his hands, not by slow and insensible steps, but with the utmost celerity. He knew that Galba from his advanced age, being now seventy-three, was scarcely able to support the journey thither, though carried in a litter. Besides, the forces there had long been inclined to serve him; and now they depended upon him alone, considering him as their benefactor on account of the large gratuity which he had promised them, and Galba as their debtor. He, therefore, immediately commanded his collegue Tigellinus[13] to surrender his sword; and gave great entertainments, at which he received

[12] Vinius was of a prætorian family, and had behaved with honour as governor of Gallia Narbonensis; but when he became the favourite and first minister of the emperor of Rome, he soon made his master obnoxious to the people, and ruined himself. The truth is, he was naturally of a bad disposition, and a man of no principles. He fell soon after his master. (Tac. Hist. i. 28. 31.)

[13] For an account of the ignominious death of this infamous fellow, see Tac. (Hist. i. 72.)*

persons of consular dignity, and such as had commanded armies and provinces, issuing his invitations however in the name of Galba. He likewise instructed many of the soldiers to suggest it to the prætorian cohorts, that they should send a message to Galba, demanding that Nymphidius should continue their captain and without a collegue. The readiness, which the senate displayed to add to his honour and authority by calling him their 'benefactor,' by going daily to pay their respects at his gate, and desiring that he would take upon him to propose and confirm every decree, raised him to a much higher pitch of insolence; so that in a little time he became not only obnoxious, but formidable, to the very persons who paid their court to him. When the consuls had charged the public messengers with the decrees to be carried to the emperor, and had sealed the instruments with their seal, in order that the magistrates of the towns through which they were to pass, seeing their authority, might furnish them at each stage with carriages for the greater expedition, he was offended that they had not made use of his seal, and employed his men to carry the despatches. He even had it under consideration, it is said, whether he should not punish the consuls; but, upon their apologising and begging pardon for the affront, he was appeased. To ingratiate himself with the people, he did not prevent them from despatching by torture such of Nero's creatures as fell into their hands. A gladiator, named Spicillus, was put under the statues of Nero, and dragged about with them in the Forum till he died. Aponius, one of the informers, was extended upon the ground, and waggons loaded with stones were driven over him: many others they tore in pieces, and among these some that were entirely innocent. So that Mauriscus, who not only had the character of one of the best men in Rome, but really deserved it, said one day to the senate, "He was afraid they "would soon regret the loss of Nero."

Nymphidius, thus advancing in his hopes, was not

at all displeased at being called the son of Caius Cæsar[14], who reigned after Tiberius. That prince in his youth, it seems, had had some commerce with his mother, who was the daughter of Calistus one of Cæsar's freedmen by a sempstress, and who was not deficient in personal charms. The connexion, however, which Caius had with her, was undoubtedly after the birth of Nymphidius; and it was believed that he was the son of Martianus the gladiator, whom Nymphidia fell in love with on account of his professional reputation: besides, his resemblance to the gladiator gave a sanction to that opinion. Be that as it may, he acknowledged himself the son of Nymphidia, and yet insisted that he was the only person who deposed Nero. Not content with the honours and emoluments which he enjoyed upon that account, and with Sporus, whom he took from the funeral pile while Nero's corpse was still burning, and called 'Poppæa[15];' he aspired to the imperial seat, and had his engines privately at work in Rome, in which he employed his friends, with some intriguing women and some men of consular rank. He sent also Gellianus, one of his friends, into Spain, to act as a spy upon Galba.

After the death of Nero, all things went for Galba according to his wish; the uncertainty alone, as to what part Virginius Rufus would act, gave him a little uneasiness. Virginius commanded a powerful army, which had already conquered Vindex, and he held in subjection a very considerable part of the Roman empire; for he was master not only of Germany, but of Gaul, which was in great agitation and ripe for a revolt. Galba, therefore, was apprehensive that he would listen to those who offered him the imperial purple. There was not indeed an officer of higher name or reputation than Virginius, nor one who had more weight in the affairs of those times;

[14] Caligula, who succeeded Tiberius, B. C. 37, and was slain B. C. 41.*

[15] See Suet. Nero, 28., and Dion. Cass. lxii. 27, 28.*

for he had delivered the empire both from tyranny, and from a Gallic war. He remained true, however, to his first resolution, and reserved the appointment of emperor for the senate. After Nero's death was certainly known, the troops again pressed hard upon Virginius, and one of the tribunes drew his sword in the pavilion, and bade him receive either sovereign power or the steel; but the menace produced no effect. At last after Fabius Valens, who commanded one legion, had taken the oath of fidelity to Galba, and letters arrived from Rome with an account of the senate's decree, he persuaded his army, though with extreme difficulty, to acknowledge him. The new emperor having sent Flaccus Hordeonius as his successor, he admitted him in that quality, and delivered up to him his forces. He then went to meet Galba, who was on his journey to Rome, and attended him thither, without receiving any marks either of his kindness or of his resentment. The reason of this was that Galba, on the one hand, regarded him in too respectable a light to offer him any injury; and, on the other, the emperor's friends (particularly Titus Vinius) were jealous of the progress, which he might make in his favour. But that officer was not aware that, while he was thus preventing his promotion, he was co-operating with his good genius, in withdrawing him from the wars and calamities in which other generals were engaged, and procuring him a life of tranquillity full of days and peace.

The embassadors, whom the senate sent to Galba, met him at Narbon, a city of Gaul. There they paid their compliments, and advised him to show himself as soon as possible to the people of Rome, who were very desirous to see him. He gave them a kind reception, and entertained them in an agreeable manner. But though Nymphidius had sent him rich vessels, and other furniture suitable to a great prince, which he had taken out of Nero's palace, he made no use of any part of it; every thing was served

up in dishes of his own. This was a circumstance, which did him considerable honour, as it proved him to be a man of superior sentiments, and entirely above vanity. Titus Vinius, however, soon endeavoured to convince him that these lofty sentiments, this modesty and simplicity of manners, betrayed an ambition for popular applause, which real greatness of mind disdains[16]. By this argument he prevailed upon him to use Nero's riches, and display all the imperial magnificence at his entertainments; and thus the old man allowed it to appear, that in time he would be entirely governed by Vinius.

No one had a stronger passion for money than Vinius, neither was any man more addicted to women. While he was yet very young, and making his first campaign under Calvisius Sabinus, he brought his general's wife (an abandoned prostitute) one night into the camp in a soldier's habit, and lay with her in that part of it which the Romans call the Principia[17]. For this, Caius Cæsar put him in prison; but, upon that prince's death, he was released. Afterward, happening to sup with Claudius Cæsar, he stole a silver cup. The emperor, being informed of it, invited him the following evening, but ordered the attendants to serve him with only earthen vessels. This moderation of the emperor seemed to show that the theft was deserving of ridicule, rather than of serious resentment: but his subsequent conduct, when he had Galba and his revenues at command, served partly as the cause, and partly as the pretence for many events of the most tragical kind.

[16] In the text και κομψοτητα μεγαλην, απαξιουσαν αυτην. As it is difficult to make sense of this, Du Soul ingeniously proposes to read και ΑΚΟΜΨΟΤΗΤΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ απαξιουσαν αυτην, 'and a rusticity, which thinks itself unworthy of any thing great.' The text, throughout this Life, is extremely corrupt.

[17] A consecrated place, where the principal standards were fixed, the altars of the gods and the images of the emperors stood, and all military business was transacted. Tacitus, in relating this story (Hist. i. 48.), does not mention Vinius' name.*

Nymphidius on the return of Gellianus, whom he had sent as a spy upon Galba, was informed that Cornelius Laco was appointed to the command of the guards and of the palace, and that the whole power would be placed in Vinius' hands. This distressed him exceedingly, as he had no opportunity of attending the emperor, or of speaking to him in private; for his intentions were suspected, and all were upon their guard. In this perplexity he assembled the officers of the prætorian cohorts, and told them that, "Galba was indeed an old man of "mild and moderate sentiments; but that, instead "of using his own judgement, he was directed entirely by Vinius and Laco, who made a bad use "of their influence. It is our business therefore," continued he, "before they insensibly establish "themselves, and become sole masters as Tigellinus "was, to send embassadors to the emperor in the "name of all the troops, and represent to him, that "if he removes those two counsellors from his person, he will find a much more agreeable reception "among the Romans." Perceiving however that his officers did not relish the proposal, but thought it absurd and preposterous to dictate the choice of friends to an emperor of his age, as they might have done to a boy on his first accession to power, he adopted another scheme. With the hope of intimidating Galba, he pretended sometimes in his letters, that there were discontents and dangers of an insurrection in Rome, sometimes that Clodius Macer had laid an embargo in Africa upon the corn-ships. At one moment he said, the German legions were in motion; and at another, that the same rebellious disposition existed among those in Syria and Judæa. But as Galba did not give much attention or credit to his advices, he resolved to usurp the imperial title himself, before he arrived: though Clodius Celsus the Antiochian, a sensible man and one of his best friends, did all he could to dissuade him from it; and told him plainly, he did not believe there was a

single family in Rome, which would honour him with the title of Cæsar. Many others, however, ridiculed Galba: and Mithridates of Pontus in particular, making merry with his bald head and wrinkled face, said; "The Romans think him something "extraordinary, while he is at a distance: but, as "soon as he arrives, they will consider it a disgrace "to the times to have ever called him 'Cæsar.'"

It was resolved therefore, that Nymphidius should be conducted to the camp at midnight, and proclaimed emperor. But Antonius Honoratus, the first tribune, assembled in the evening the troops under his command; and after blaming both himself and them, for having changed so often in so short a time, not in pursuance of the dictates of reason or the exercise of a better choice, but because some dæmon pushed them on from one treason to another, continued; "The crimes of Nero indeed may justify our first measures. But has Galba murthered "his mother, or his wife? Or has he made you "ashamed of your emperor, by appearing as a fiddler "or an actor upon a stage? Yet not even these "things induced us to abandon Nero; but Nymphidius first persuaded us, that he had abandoned "us and fled into Egypt. Shall we then sacrifice "Galba after Nero, and when we have destroyed "the relation of Livia, as well as the son of Agrippina, place the son of Nymphidia upon the imperial throne? Or rather, after having taken "vengeance on a detestable tyrant in Nero, shall "we not show ourselves good and faithful guards to "Galba?"

Upon this speech of the tribune, all his men acceded to the proposal. They applied also to their fellow-soldiers, and prevailed upon most of them to return to their allegiance. At the same time, a loud shout was heard in the camp; and Nymphidius, either believing (as some writers state) that the troops were calling him in order to proclaim him

emperor, or else hastening to appease the insurrection and fix such as he found wavering, ran with lights to the camp; having in his hand a speech composed for him by Cingonius Varro, which he had committed to memory, in order to pronounce it to the army. But seeing the gates shut, and a number of men in arms upon the wall, his confidence abated. Advancing nearer, however, he asked them; "What they intended to do, and by whose "command they were under arms?" They answered unanimously, "That they acknowledged no other "emperor but Galba." Upon which, pretending to adopt their opinion, he applauded their fidelity, and ordered his attendants to follow his example. The guard opening the gate, and suffering him to enter with a few of his people, a javelin was thrown at him, which Septimius, who went before, received upon his shield. But others drawing their swords he fled, and was pursued into a soldier's hut, where they despatched him. His body was dragged into the middle of the camp, where they enclosed it with pales, and exposed it to public view the next day.

Nymphidius being thus cut off, Galba was no sooner informed of it, than he ordered such of his accomplices, as had not already despatched themselves, to be put to death. Among these was Cingonius, who composed the oration, and Mithridates of Pontus. In this, the emperor did not proceed according to the laws and customs of the Romans; neither was it indeed a popular measure, to inflict capital punishment upon persons of eminence without any form of trial, though they had deserved death. For the Romans, deceived (as is usually the case) by first reports, now expected another kind of government. But what afflicted them most was, the order which he sent for the execution of Petronius Turpilianus, a man of consular dignity, merely because he had been faithful to Nero. For taking off Macer in Africa by Trebonianus, and Fonteius in

Germany by Valens there was some pretence, because they were in arms, and had forces which he might justly fear. But there was no reason why Turpilianus, a defenceless old man, should not have had a hearing, at least under a prince who ought to have preserved in his actions the moderation he so much affected. Such were the complaints against Galba upon this subject.

When he was about five-and-twenty furlongs from the city, he found the way obstructed by a disorderly crew of seamen, who gathered about him on all sides. These had been formed by Nero into a legion, that they might act as soldiers; and they now met Galba on the road to have their establishment confirmed, and pressed upon him so much, that he could neither be seen nor heard by those who came to wait upon him, clamorously insisting on having legionary colours and quarters assigned them. Galba would have put them off to another time; but this they considered as a denial, and some of them even drew their swords; on which, he ordered the cavalry to fall upon them. They made no resistance, but fled with the utmost precipitation, and many of them were killed in their flight[18]. It was considered as an inauspicious circumstance for Galba, to have entered the city amidst so much blood and slaughter. And those, who before despised him as weak and inactive through age, now looked upon him as an object of fear and horror.

Besides, while he endeavoured to reform the extravagance and profusion, with which money had been squandered by Nero, he fell short of the mark of propriety. When Canus, a celebrated performer on the flute, played to him one evening at court, after expressing the highest satisfaction at the excellence of his music, he ordered his purse to be

[18] Dio Cassius informs us (lxiv.) that seven thousand of the disarmed multitude were cut to pieces upon the spot, and others committed to prison, where they lay till Galba's death. Many, however, were still left. See Suet. Galb. 12., and Tac. Hist. i. 6.

brought; and taking out a few pieces of gold[19], he gave them to him, telling him at the same time, that 'this was a gratuity out of his own, not the public money.' As for the money, which Nero had lavished upon persons who pleased him on the stage or in the palæstra, he rigorously insisted that it should all, with the exception of a tenth part, be returned. And as persons of such dissolute lives, who make only a provision for the day, could produce very little, he caused inquiry to be made for all that had bought any thing of them, or received presents, and obliged them to refund. This affair extending to great numbers of people, and seeming to have no end, involved the emperor in disgrace, and brought the public envy and hatred on Vinius; as exhibiting his master sordid and mean to others, while he himself pillaged the treasury in the most insatiable manner, and seized and sold whatever he thought proper.

In short, as Hesiod says,

> Spare not the full cask, nor though lessen'd flow
> Declare the bottom near, your hand withdraw[20].

So Vinius seeing Galba old and infirm drank freely of the favours of fortune, as only beginning, and yet at the same time drawing toward an end[21].

But the aged emperor was deeply injured by Vinius, not only through his neglect or misapplica-

[19] Suetonius (ib.) says, Galba gave him five denarii. But at that time, as some authors contend, there were denarii of gold. This however Gronovius, in his Treatise on the Money of the Ancients, denies. That writer adds (ib.), that, when his table upon any extraordinary occasion was more splendidly served than usual, he could not forbear sighing, and expressing his dissatisfaction in a manner inconsistent with common decency.

[20] Εργ. και Ἡμερ. 366.

[21] Thus, in the court of Galba, were to be found all the extortions of Nero's reign. They were equally grievous, says Tacitus (Hist. 1. 7.), but not equally excused, in a prince of Galba's years and experience. He had the greatest integrity of heart; but, as the rapacity and other excesses of his ministers were imputed to him, he was not less hated, than if he had committed them himself.

tion of things committed to his trust, but by his condemning or defeating the most salutary intentions of his master. This was the case, with respect to the punishing of Nero's ministers. Some bad ones, it is true, were put to death, among whom were Elius, Polycletus, Petinus, and Patrobius. When these were led through the Forum to the place of execution, the people expressed their joy by loud plaudits, and called it 'a glorious and holy procession': but both gods and men, they said, demanded the punishment of Tigellinus, who had suggested the very worst measures, and taught Nero all his tyranny. That worthy gentleman, however, had secured himself by great presents to Vinius, which were only earnests of still greater. Turpilianus, though obnoxious only because he had not betrayed or hated his master on account of his bad qualities, and though guilty of no remarkable crime, was notwithstanding put to death; while the man who had made Nero unfit to live, and after he had made him such, deserted and betrayed him, lived and flourished: a proof, that there was nothing which Vinius would not sell, and that no monied man had reason to despair. For there was no sight, which the people of Rome so passionately coveted, as that of Tigellinus carried to execution; and in the theatre, and the circus, they continually demanded it; till at last the emperor checked them by an edict, importing that Tigellinus was in a deep consumption, which would destroy him ere long, and that their sovereign entreated them not to convert his government into a tyranny by needless acts of severity.

At this the people were highly displeased, but the miscreants only laughed at them. Tigellinus offered sacrifice in acknowledgement to the gods for his recovery, and provided a grand entertainment; and Vinius rose from the emperor's table to go and carouse with him, accompanied by his daughter, who was a widow. Tigellinus drank to her, and said, "I will make this cup worth two hundred and

"fifty thousand drachmas to you;" at the same time ordering his chief mistress to take off her own necklace, and give it to her. This was said to be worth a hundred and fifty thousand more.

From this period, the most moderate of Galba's proceedings were misrepresented [22]. For instance, his lenity toward the Gauls, who had been concerned in Vindex's conspiracy, did not escape censure. It was believed, indeed, that they had gained a remission of tribute and the freedom of Rome, not from the emperor's indulgence, but from Vinius' venality. Hence, the people had a general dislike to Galba's administration. As for the soldiers, though they did not receive what had been promised them, they let it pass; hoping that, if they had not that gratuity, they should certainly have as much as Nero had given them. But when they began to murmur, and their complaints were brought to Galba, he said (as well became a great prince) "That it was his custom to choose, not to buy, his "soldiers [23]." This saying however, being reported to the troops, kindled in them the most deadly and irreconcileable hatred. For it seemed to them, that he sought not only to deprive them of the gratuity himself, but to set a precedent for future emperors.

This disaffection which prevailed in Rome was as yet in some measure kept secret, partly because some remaining reverence for the emperor's presence prevented the flame of sedition from breaking out, and partly from want of an open occasion to attempt a change. But the troops which had served under Virginius, and were now commanded by Flac-

[22] Though the rest of Galba's conduct was not blameless, yet (according to Suetonius, ib., and Zonaras) he kept the soldiers to their duty; punished with the utmost severity those who, by their false accusations, had occasioned the death of innocent persons; delivered up to the vengeance of the laws such slaves, as had borne witness against their masters; and recalled those who, under pretence of treason, had been exiled by his predecessor.

[23] See Suet. ib., and Tac. Hist. i. 6.*

cus in Germany, thinking that they had deserved great rewards for the battle which they had fought with Vindex, and finding that they received nothing, began to behave in an extremely refractory manner, and could not be appeased by their officers. Their general himself they utterly despised, on account as well of his inactivity (for he had the gout in a violent manner), as of his want of experience in military affairs. One day at some public games, when the tribunes and centurions according to custom made vows for the happiness of the emperor, the common soldiers murmured; and when the officers repeated their good wishes, they answered, "If he is worthy." The legions under Tigellinus' command behaved with equal insolence, of which Galba's agents wrote him an account. He was now apprehensive that it was not only his age, but his want of children[24], which brought him into contempt; and he therefore resolved to adopt some young man of noble birth, and declare him his successor.

Marcus Otho was of a family by no means obscure; but, at the same time, he had been from his infancy more notorious for luxury and love of pleasure, than most of the Roman youth. And, as Homer often calls Paris 'the husband of the beauteous Helen,' because he had nothing else to distinguish him, so Otho was noted in Rome as 'the husband of Poppæa.' This was the lady, whom Nero fell in love with, while she was wife to Crispinus[25]; but retaining as yet some respect for his own wife, and some reverence for his mother, he privately employed Otho to solicit her. For Otho's debauchery had recommended him to Nero as a friend and companion, and he had an agreeable way of rallying him upon what he called, his 'avarice and sordid manner of living.'

[24] Suet. ib. 17.*

[25] This Roman knight was at first banished by Nero, on account of his wife, and subsequently put to death. (Tac. Ann. xv. 71.; xvi. 17.)*

We are told, that one day when Nero was perfuming himself with a very rich essence, he sprinkled a little of it upon Otho. Otho invited the emperor the day following, when suddenly gold and silver pipes opened on all sides of the apartment, and poured out essences for them as plentifully as if it had been water. He applied to Poppæa[26] according to Nero's desire, and first seduced her for him by the flattering idea of having an emperor for her lover; after which, he persuaded her to leave her husband. But when he took her home as his own wife, he was less happy in possessing her, than miserable in the thought of sharing her with another. And Poppæa is said not to have been displeased with this jealousy; for it seems, she refused to admit Nero when Otho was absent: whether it was that she studied to keep Nero's appetite from cloying, or (according to some) did not choose to receive the emperor as a husband, but in her wanton way took more pleasure in seeing him approach her as a gallant. Otho's life, therefore, was in great danger on account of that marriage; and it is astonishing that the man, who could sacrifice his wife and sister for the sake of Poppæa, should have afterward spared Otho.

But Otho had a friend in Seneca; and it was he, who persuaded Nero to send him out governor of Lusitania, upon the borders of the ocean. Here Otho rendered himself agreeable to the inhabitants by his lenity; for he knew that this command was given him only as a more honourable exile[27]. Upon Galba's revolt, he was the first governor of a province who came over to him; and he carried with

[26] Tacitus says (Ann. xiii. 45, 46.) that he wooed and won her for himself, and afterward by his imprudent or artful praises of her excited his royal master's passion.*

[27] And perhaps to prevent the publicity of Nero's intrigue with his wife, which would have been caused by his death. Upon this occasion, the following distich was made;

Cur Otho mentito sit, quæritis, exul honore;
Uxoris mœchus cœperat esse suæ. (Suet. Oth. 3.)

him all his gold and silver vessels to be melted down and coined for his use. He likewise presented him with such of his servants, as knew best how to wait upon an emperor. He behaved to him, indeed, in every respect with the utmost fidelity: and it appeared, from the specimen which he gave, that there was no department in the government for which he had not talents. He accompanied him through his whole journey, and was many days in the same carriage with him; during all which time he lost no opportunity of paying his court to Vinius, either by assiduities or presents: and, as he always took care to leave him the first place, he was secure by his means of having the second. Beside that there was nothing invidious in this station, he recommended himself by granting his favours and services without reward, and by his general politeness and affability. He took most pleasure in serving the officers of the army, and obtained governments for many of them, by application partly to the emperor, and partly to Vinius and his freedmen Icelus and Asiaticus, who had the chief influence at court.

Whenever Galba visited him, he complimented the company of guards upon duty with a piece of gold for each man; thus practising upon and gaining the soldiers, while he seemed only to be doing honour to their master. When Galba was deliberating upon the choice of a successor, Vinius proposed Otho. This was not a disinterested overture, for Otho had promised to marry Vinius' daughter, after Galba had adopted him, and appointed him his successor. But Galba always showed, that he preferred the good of the public to any private consideration; and in this case he sought, not one who might be most agreeable to himself, but one who promised to be the greatest blessing to the Romans. It can scarcely indeed be supposed, that he would have appointed Otho heir even to his private patrimony, when he knew how expensive and profuse he was, and that he was loaded with a debt of five millions

of drachmas. He therefore gave Vinius a patient hearing, without returning him any answer, and put off the affair to another time. As he declared himself consul however, and chose Vinius for his collegue, it was supposed that he would appoint a successor at the beginning of the next year, and the soldiers wished that Otho might be the man.

But while Galba delayed the appointment, and continued deliberating, the army mutinied in Germany[28]. All the troops throughout the empire hated Galba, because they had not received the promised donations, but those in Germany had a particular apology for their aversion. They alleged, "That Virginius Rufus, their general, had been re-
"moved with ignominy; and that the Gauls, who
"had fought against them, were the only people
"rewarded: while all, who had not joined Vindex,
"were punished; and Galba, as if he had owed to
"him alone the imperial diadem, honoured his me-
"mory with sacrifices and public libations."

Such speeches as this were common in the camp, when the calends of January were at hand, and Flaccus assembled the soldiers, to take the customary oath of fealty to the emperor. But instead of that, they overturned and broke to pieces Galba's statues, and having taken an oath of allegiance to the senate and people of Rome, retired to their tents. Their officers were now as apprehensive of anarchy as of rebellion, and the following speech is said to have been made to them upon the occasion: "What are we doing, my fellow-soldiers? We nei-
"ther appoint another emperor, nor keep our alle-
"giance to the present, as if we had renounced not
"only Galba, but every other sovereign, and all
"kinds of obedience. Hordeonius Flaccus, it is
"true, is no more than the shadow of Galba. Let
"us, then, quit him. At the distance of a single
"day's march, Vitellius commands in the lower

[28] Suet. Galb. 16.

"Germany, whose father was censor, and thrice "consul, and as it were collegue to the emperor "Claudius: and though his poverty be a circum-"stance, for which some people may despise him, "it is a strong proof both of his probity and his "magnanimity. Let us go and declare him em-"peror; and show the world that we know how to "choose a person for that high dignity, better than "the Spaniards and Lusitanians."

Some approving, and others rejecting this motion, one of the standard-bearers marched off privately, and carried the news to Vitellius that night. He found him at table, giving an entertainment to his officers. The intelligence quickly spread throughout the army; and Fabius Valens, who commanded one of the legions, went next day at the head of a considerable party of horse, and saluted Vitellius emperor. For some days before, he had seemed to dread the weight of sovereign power, and totally to decline it; but now being fortified with the indulgences of the table[29], to which he had sat down at mid-day, he went out and accepted the title of 'Germanicus,' which the army conferred upon him, though he refused that of 'Cæsar.' Soon afterward, Flaccus' troops forgot the republican oaths, which they had taken to the senate and people, and swore allegiance to Vitellius. Thus Vitellius was proclaimed emperor in Germany.

As soon as Galba was informed of the insurrection there, he resolved without farther delay to proceed to the adoption. Some of his friends, he knew, were for Dolabella, and a still larger number for Otho; but without being guided by the judgement of either party, or making the least mention of his design, he sent suddenly for Piso, the son of Crassus and Scribonia who had been put to death by Nero, a young

[29] For instances of the various indulgences of this imperial *gourmand*, see Suet. Vitell. 13., Tac. Hist. ii. 62.*

man formed by nature for every virtue, and distinguished by his modesty and sobriety of manners. In pursuance of his intentions, he went down with him to the camp, to bestow upon him the title of 'Cæsar,' and declare him his successor. But he had no sooner left his palace, than very inauspicious presages appeared: and in the camp, while he was delivering a speech to the army, reading some parts and pronouncing others from memory, the many claps of thunder and flashes of lightning, a violent rain, and the darkness which covered both the camp and the city, plainly announced that the gods did not approve the adoption, and that the issue would be unfortunate. The countenances of the soldiers, likewise, were black and lowering, because even upon this ceremony[30] there was no donation.

As for Piso, all who were present could not but wonder that, so far as they could conjecture from his voice and look, he was in no respect disconcerted by so great an honour, though he did not receive it without sensibility[31]. On the contrary, in Otho's countenance there appeared strong marks of resentment, and of the impatience with which he bore his disappointment. For his not obtaining the honour, to which he had been thought worthy of aspiring, and which he lately believed himself very near possessing, seemed a proof of Galba's hatred and displeasure. He was not, therefore, without apprehension of what might befal him afterward; and dreading Galba, execrating Piso, and full of indignation against Vinius, he retired with this confusion of passions in his heart. But the Chaldæans and other soothsayers, whom he had always about him, would not suffer him entirely to relinquish his hopes,

[30] Tacitus informs us, that a little exertion of liberality would have gained the army, and that Galba suffered by an unseasonable attention to the purity of ancient times. (Hist. i. 18.)

[31] See an excellent speech, which Tacitus ascribes to Galba upon this occasion. (Ib. 15, 16.)

or abandon his design. In particular he relied upon Ptolemy[32], because he had formerly predicted, that he should not fall by the hand of Nero, but survive him and live to ascend the imperial throne. For, as the former part of the prophecy had proved true, he thought he had no reason to despair of the latter. None however exasperated him more against Galba, than those who condoled with him in private, and pretended that he had been treated with great ingratitude. Besides, there were many people that had flourished under Tigellinus and Nymphidius, and now lived in poverty and disgrace, who in order to recommend themselves to Otho, expressed the utmost indignation at his treatment, and urged him to revenge it. Among these were Veturius, who was *Optio* or centurion's deputy, and Barbius who was *Tesserarius*, or one of those that carry the word from the tribunes to the centurions[33]. Onomastus one of Otho's freedmen joined them, and went from troop to troop, corrupting some with money and others with promises. They were, indeed, corrupt enough already, and wanted only an opportunity of putting their designs in execution. If they had not been extremely disaffected, they could not have been prepared for a revolt in so short a space of time as

[32] See Tac. Hist. i. 22. Called by Suetonius (Oth. 4.) 'Seleucus.'*

[33] The way of setting the nightly guard was by a *tessera* (or tally) with a particular inscription, given from one centurion to another throughout the army, till it came round to the tribune, by whom it had first been delivered.

The text, in this place, is corrupt. Lipsius rightly observes that, instead of δι' αγγελων and δι' οπτηρων, we should read διαγγελων and διοπτηρων. It will then run thus: ουτω γαρ καλουνται οἱ διαγγελων και διοπτηρων ὑπηρεσιας τελουντες. But, even then, Plutarch will not have given a description of the principal offices of the *Optio* and the *Tesserarius*. Messengers, it is true, they were; but spies only occasionally. It is necessary however to translate the text thus amended, at least in a note; 'So they are called, who perform the offices of messengers and spies.' (L.)

The two soldiers in question were introduced by Onomastus to Otho, whence Tacitus (ib. 25.) observes, *Suscepêre duo manipulares imperium populi Romani transferendum, et transtulerunt.**

that of four days, which was the whole interval between the adoption and the assassination; for Piso and Galba were both slain on the sixth day following, which was the fifteenth of January. Early in the morning Galba, in the presence of his friends, sacrificed in the palace. Umbricius the soothsayer no sooner took the entrails in his hands, than he declared, not in enigmatical expressions but plainly, that there were signs of considerable troubles, and of treason threatening immediate danger to the emperor[34]. Thus Otho was delivered up to Galba almost, as it were, by the hand of the gods; for he stood behind the emperor, listening with the utmost attention to Umbricius' observations. These threw him into great confusion, and his fears were evinced by his change of colour; when his freedman Onomastus came, and told him that the architects were arrived, and waited for him at his house. This was the signal for Otho's meeting the soldiers. He pretended therefore that he had bought an old house, which these architects were to examine, and passing by what is called 'Tiberius' palace' proceeded to that part of the Forum, where stands the gilded pillar terminating all the great roads in Italy[35].

The soldiers who received him, and saluted him emperor, are said to have been not more than twenty-three. So that, though he had nothing of the dastardly spirit which the delicacy of his constitution and the effeminacy of his life seemed to declare, but on the contrary was firm and resolute in time of danger, yet upon this occasion he was intimidated and wished to retire; but they would not suffer it.

[34] Adding, according to Suet. (Galb. 19.), *Non longè percussores abesse*, 'That his murtherers were at no great distance.'*

[35] This pillar was set up by Augustus, when he took the highways under his inspection, and had the distances of places from Rome marked upon it. (L.) See Plin. H. N. iii. 5., and Dion. Cass. liv. 8. See also Brotier in Tac. Hist. i. 27. Caius Gracchus, about a hundred years before, had erected mile-stones. See his Life, V. 230.*

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS

They surrounded the chair[36] with drawn swords, and insisted on it's proceeding to the camp. In the meanwhile Otho desired the bearers to make haste, often declaring that he was a lost man. There were some, who overheard him; and they rather wondered at the hardiness of the attempt with so small a party, than disturbed themselves about the consequences. As he was carried through the Forum, about the same number as the first joined him, and others subsequently by three or four at a time. The whole party then saluted him 'Cæsar,' and conducted him to the camp, flourishing their swords before him. Martialis, the tribune who kept guard that day, knowing nothing (as we are told) of the conspiracy, was surprised and terrified at so unexpected a sight, and suffered them to enter. When Otho was within the camp, he met with no resistance, for the conspirators gathered about such as were strangers to the design, and made it their business to explain it to them; upon which, first from fear, and afterward out of choice, they joined them by one or two at a time.

The intelligence was immediately carried to Galba, while the soothsayer was yet in attendance, and had the entrails in his hands; so that they, who had previously been most incredulous in matters of divination, and even held them in contempt, were astonished at the divine interposition in the accomplishment of this presage. People of all sorts now crowding from the Forum to the palace, Vinius and Laco, with some of the emperor's freedmen, stood before him with drawn swords to defend him. Piso went out to speak to the life-guards; and Marius Celsus, a man of great courage and honour, was sent to secure the Illyrian legion, which lay in Vipsanius' portico.

Galba wishing to go out to the people, Vinius

[36] Suetonius says, he got into a woman's sedan, which was of a closer kind, in order to be the better concealed. (Oth. 6.)

endeavoured to dissuade him from it; but Celsus and Laco encouraged him to go, and expressed themselves with some sharpness against Vinius. In the mean time, a strong report prevailed, that Otho had been slain in the camp; soon after which Julius Atticus, a soldier of some note among the guards, came up, and crying "He was the man that had "killed Cæsar's enemy," made his way through the crowd, and displayed his bloody sword to Galba. The emperor fixing his eye upon him, and asking, "Who gave you orders?" he replied, "My alle-"giance, and the oath which I had taken;" upon which the people expressed their approbation in loud plaudits. Galba then went out in a sedan-chair, with a design to sacrifice to Jupiter, and show himself to the people. But he had no sooner reached the Forum, than the rumour changed like the wind, and news met him that Otho was master of the camp. Upon this occasion, as it was natural among a multitude of people, some called out to him to advance and some to retire, some to take courage and some to be cautious. His chair was tossed backward and forward, as in a tempest, and ready to be overset; when there appeared first a party of horse, and then another of foot, issuing from the Basilica of Paulus and crying out, "Away with this "private man!" Numbers were at this time running about, not to separate by flight, but to possess themselves of the porticos and eminences about the Forum, as it were to enjoy some public spectacle. Atilius Vergilio beat down one of Galba's statues, which served as a signal for hostilities, and they attacked the chair on all sides with javelins. As those did not despatch him, they advanced sword in hand. In this time of trial none rose up in his defence but one man, who indeed, among so many millions, was the only one that did honour to the Roman empire. This was Sempronius Densus[37] a centurion, who

[37] In the Greek text, it is 'Indistrus;' but that text (as we observed before), in the Life of Galba, is extremely corrupt. We

without any particular obligations to Galba, and only from a regard to honour and the law, stood forth to defend the chair. First of all, he lifted up the vine-branch, with which the centurions chastise such as deserve stripes; and then calling out to the soldiers who were pressing forward, commanded them to spare the emperor. They fell upon him notwithstanding, upon which he drew his sword and fought a long time, till he received a stroke in the ham, which brought him to the ground.

The chair was overturned at what is called the 'Curtian lake,' and Galba tumbling out of it, they ran to kill him. At the same time, he presented his throat, and said; "Strike, if it be for the good of "Rome [38]." He received many strokes upon the arms and legs, for he had a coat of mail upon his body. According to most accounts it was Camurius, a soldier of the fifteenth legion, who despatched him; though some say it was Terentius, some Arcadius [39], and others Fabius Fabulus. They add, that when Fabius had cut off his head, he wrapped it up in the skirt of his garment, because it was so bald that he could take no hold of it. His associates however would not suffer him to conceal it, but insisted that he should let the world see, what an exploit he had performed; he fixed it therefore upon the point of his spear, and swinging about the head of a venerable old man and a mild prince, who was both Pontifex Maximus and consul, he ran on (like the Bacchanals with that of Pentheus) brandishing his spear, dyed with the blood trickling from it.

When the head was presented to Otho, he cried out, "This is nothing, my fellow-soldiers; show "me the head of Piso." This was brought not long afterward; for that young prince being wounded,

have therefore given 'Densus' from Tacitus; as 'Vergilio' instead of 'Sercello,' above.

[38] Suet. Galb. 20., Tac. Hist. i. 41.*

[39] In Tacitus, 'Lecanius.' That historian makes no mention of Fabius.

and pursued by one Murcus, was killed by him at the gates of the temple of Vesta. Vinius also was put to the sword, though he declared himself an accomplice in the conspiracy, and protested that he suffered against Otho's orders. They cut off his head however, and that of Laco, and carrying them to Otho demanded their reward; For, as Archilochus says,

> We bring seven warriors only to your tent,
> Yet thousands of us kill'd them.

So in this case many, who had no share in the action, bathed their hands and swords in the blood, and exhibiting them to Otho claimed their recompence. It appeared afterward, from the petitions given in, that the number of them was a hundred and twenty: all of whom Vitellius subsequently sought out, and put to death. Marius Celsus also coming to the camp, many accused him of having exhorted the soldiers to stand by Galba, and the bulk of the army insisted that he should suffer. But Otho anxious to save him, and yet afraid of contradicting them, told them; "He did not choose to have him "executed so soon, because he had several important "questions to put to him." He ordered him therefore to be kept in chains, and delivered him to persons, in whom he could best place his confidence[40].

The senate was immediately assembled; and as if they were become different men, or had other gods to swear by, they took the oath to Otho, which he had before taken to Galba, and violated; and gave him the titles of 'Cæsar' and 'Augustus,' while the bodies of those that had been beheaded lay in their consular robes in the Forum. As for the heads, the

40 He had been most faithful to Galba; and Otho judiciously, as it appeared in the issue, hoped he would prove as faithful to himself. (Tac. Hist. i. 71.) His integrity indeed gained the admiration, and his preservation the applause, even of those who had urged his execution.*

soldiers, when they had no farther use for them, sold that of Vinius to his daughter for two thousand five hundred drachmas. Piso's was given to his wife Verania, at her request[41]; and Galba's to the servants of Patrobius and Vitellius[42], who after they had treated it with the utmost insolence and outrage, threw it into a place called Sestertium[43], where the bodies of those are cast that are put to death by the emperors. His body was carried away, with Otho's permission, by Helvidius Priscus, and buried in the night by his freedman Argius.

Such is the history of Galba; a man who, in the points of family and fortune distinctly considered, was exceeded by few of the Romans, and who in the union of both was superior to all: he had lived likewise in great honour, and with the best reputation, under five emperors; and it was rather by his character, than by force of arms, that he deposed Nero. As to the rest who conspired against the tyrant, some of them were thought unworthy of the imperial diadem by the people, and others by themselves: but Galba was invited to accept it, and only followed the sense of those, who called him to that high dignity. Nay, when he gave the sanction of his name to Vindex, that which before was termed rebellion was considered only as a civil war, because a man of princely talents was then at the head of it. So that he did not so much want the empire, as the empire wanted him: and with these principles he attempted to govern a people corrupted by Tigellinus and Nymphidius, as Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus governed the Romans of their times. Notwithstand-

[41] Tacitus (Hist. i. 47.) says, she purchased it.

[42] Galba had put Patrobius to death, but we know not why the servants of Vitellius should have desired to treat his remains with indignity.

[43] Lipsius says, it was so called *qu. semitertium*, as being two miles and a half from the city; (L.) but it appears from Tacitus, that Galba's head was only carried to Patrobius' tomb. Of Helvidius Priscus, neither Tacitus (ib. 49.) nor Suetonius (ib. 20.) make any mention, upon this occasion.*

ing his advanced age, throughout the military department he showed himself a chief worthy of ancient Rome. But in the civil administration he delivered himself up to Vinius, to Laco, and to his enfranchised slaves who sold every thing, in the same manner as Nero had left all to his insatiable vermin. The consequence of this was, that no man regretted him as an emperor, though almost every one was moved with pity at his miserable fate.

THE

LIFE

OF

OTHO.

SUMMARY.

Otho takes possession of his new dignity, and enters upon the discharge of it's duties; puts Tigellinus to death; and suffers the populace to give him the name of 'Nero.' Turbulent behaviour of the seventeenth prætorian cohort; appeased by Otho. He writes to Vitellius: the answer. Various omens. He marches to meet Vitellius' lieutenants. Insolence of Vitellius' troops. Otho's forces gain some advantage over them. Otho, in opposition to the counsels of his officers, determines to give battle. Skirmishes between the parties. Otho orders his officers to proceed to the attack; and is beaten: Causes of his defeat. His army send deputies, and take the oath to Vitellius. Horrible carnage in the battle. Attachment of Otho's attendant soldiers to their general: he addresses them; sends away such of his friends and senators, as are present; and kills himself. His troops give his body a magnificent interment; and take the oath to Vitellius.

THE new emperor went early in the morning to the Capitol, and sacrificed; after which he ordered Marius Celsus to be brought before him, received him with great marks of his regard, and desired him

rather to forget the cause of his confinement, than to remember his release. Celsus neither showed any meanness in his acknowledgements, nor any want of gratitude. He said, "The very charge brought "against him bore witness to his character; since "he was accused only of having been faithful to "Galba, from whom he had never received any per-"sonal obligations." All who were present at the audience admired both the emperor and Celsus, and the soldiers in particular testified their approbation[1].

Otho made a mild and gracious speech to the senate. The remaining part of his consulship he divided with Virginius Rufus, leaving those, who had been appointed to that dignity by Nero and Galba, to enjoy it in their course. The respectable for age and character, he promoted to the priesthood; and to such senators, as had been banished by Nero and recalled by Galba, he restored all their goods and estates which he found unsold. So that the first and best of the citizens, who had before not considered him as a man, but dreaded him as a fury or destroying dæmon that had suddenly seized the seat of government, now entertained more agreeable expectations from so hopeful a beginning.

But nothing gave the people in general so high a pleasure[2], or contributed so much to gain him their affections, as his punishing Tigellinus. This man, it is true, had long suffered under the fear of punishment, which the Romans demanded as a public debt, and under a complication of incurable distempers. These, and his infamous connexions with the worst of prostitutes, into which his passions drew him (though almost in the arms of death) were

[1] See p. 240., not. (40.) Otho exempted the soldiers from the fees, which they had paid the centurions for furloughs and other immunities; and at the same time promised to satisfy those officers, upon all reasonable occasions, out of his own revenue. In consequence of these furloughs, the fourth part of a legion was often absent, and the troops became daily more and more corrupted.

[2] In the close of the day, upon which he was inaugurated, he put Laco and Icelus to death.

considered by the thinking part of mankind as the greatest of punishments, and worse than many deaths. Yet it was a pain to the common people, that he should see the light of the sun, after so many excellent men through his means had been deprived of it. He was then at his country-house near Sinuessa[3], and had vessels at anchor, ready to carry him on occasion to some distant country. Otho sent to him there; upon which, he first attempted to bribe the messenger with large sums to suffer him to escape. Finding that this had no effect, he gave him the money notwithstanding; and desiring only to be indulged with a few moments till he had shaved himself, he took the rasor and cut his own throat.

Beside this just satisfaction which Otho gave the people, it was a most agreeable circumstance that he remembered none of his private quarrels. To gratify the populace, he suffered them also at first to bestow upon him in the theatres the name of 'Nero,' and he made no opposition to those who erected publicly the statues of that emperor. Nay, Claudius[4] Rufus informs us that, in the letters with which the couriers were despatched to Spain, he joined the name of Nero to that of Otho. But, perceiving that the nobility were offended, he discontinued the use of it.

After his government was thus established, the prætorian cohorts gave him no small trouble, by exhorting him to beware of many persons of rank, and to forbid them the court; whether their affection made them really apprehensive for him, or it was only a colour for raising commotions and wars. One day the emperor himself had sent Crispinus orders

[3] A maritime city in Campania near the mouth of the Liris, and celebrated for it's warm springs. See Plin. H. N. iii. 5., xxi. 2.*

[4] This writer, who was a man of consular dignity and succeeded Galba in the government of Spain, was called not 'Claudius,' but 'Cluvius' Rufus. (L.) Otho's assumption of the name of 'Nero' is confirmed by Suetonius. (Oth. 7. See Tac. Hist. i. 8.)*

to bring the seventeenth cohort from Ostia [5], and in order to do it without interruption, that officer began to prepare for it as soon as it grew dark, and to pack up the arms in waggons. Upon which some of the most turbulent cried out, that Crispinus was come with no good intention, that the senate had some design against the government, and that the arms he was going to carry were to be made use of against Cæsar, not in his service. This notion soon spread, and exasperated numbers; some laid hold on the waggons, while others killed two centurions who endeavoured to quell the mutiny, and with them Crispinus himself. The whole party then armed themselves, and exhorting each other to go to the emperor's assistance, marched straight to Rome. Being informed there that eighty senators were supping with him that evening, they hastened to the palace, exclaiming, "Now is the time to "crush all Cæsar's enemies at once." The city was greatly alarmed, expecting to be immediately plundered. The palace likewise was thrown into the utmost confusion, and Otho himself was in unspeakable distress: for he was under fear and concern for the senators, while they were afraid of him, and he saw they kept their eyes fixed upon him in silence and extreme consternation; some of them having even brought their wives with them to supper. He therefore ordered the principal officers of the guards to go and speak to the soldiers, and endeavour to appease them, and at the same time sent out his guests at another door. They had scarcely made their escape, when the soldiers rushed into the room, and demanded, "What was become of the "enemies of Cæsar?" The emperor then, rising from his couch, used many arguments to satisfy them, and by entreaties and tears at last prevailed upon them with much difficulty to desist.

[5] This we learn likewise from Tacitus (Hist. i. 80.) Ostia, at the *mouth* of the Tiber, was a military station, established by the emperor Claudius. (Suet. Claud. xxv.)*

Next day, having presented the soldiers with twelve hundred and fifty drachmas a man, he entered the camp. Upon this occasion he commended the troops as in general well-affected to his government, but at the same time told them, "There were some "designing men among them, who by their cabals "brought his moderation and their fidelity both into "question: these (he said) deserved their resent-"ment, and he hoped they would assist him in "punishing them." They applauded his speech, and desired him to chastise whatever persons he thought proper; but he pitched upon two only for capital punishment, whom no man could possibly regret, and then returned to his palace.

Those, who had conceived an affection for Otho, and placed confidence in him, admired this change in his conduct. But others thought it was only a piece of policy, which the times necessarily required, and that he affected a popular behaviour on account of the impending war. For now he had undoubted intelligence that Vitellius had assumed the title of emperor and all the ensigns of supreme power, and couriers daily arrived with news of continual additions to his party. Other messengers also brought information, that the forces in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia with their generals had declared for Otho. And a few days afterward, he received obliging letters from Mucianus and Vespasian, who both commanded numerous armies, the first in Syria and the other in Judæa.

Elated by this intelligence, he wrote to Vitellius, advising him not to aspire to things above his rank; and promising, if he desisted, to supply him liberally with money, and give him a city where he might spend his days in pleasure and repose. Vitellius at first returned an answer, in which ridicule was tempered with civility. But afterward, being both thoroughly exasperated, they addressed each other in a stile of the bitterest invective. Not that their mutual reproaches were groundless, but it was ab-

surd for the one to impute to the other what might with equal justice be objected against both. For their charges consisted of prodigality, effeminacy, incapacity for war, their former poverty, and their immense debts; articles in which it is difficult to decide, whether of them had the advantage.

As to the stories of prodigies and apparitions at that time, many of them were founded upon vague reports, which could not be traced to their author. But in the Capitol there was a Victory mounted upon a chariot, and numbers of people saw her let the reins drop out of her hands, as if she had lost the power of holding them. And in the island of the Tiber, the statue of Julius Cæsar turned round from west to east, without either earthquake or whirlwind to move it: a circumstance, which is said likewise to have happened, when Vespasian openly took upon him the direction of affairs. The inundation of the Tiber was, also, considered by the populace as a bad omen. It was at a time, indeed, when rivers usually overflow their banks; but the flood never rose so high before, nor was it ever so ruinous in it's effects; for it now laid great part of the city under water, particularly the corn-market, and caused a famine which continued for several days.

About this time information was brought that Cecina and Valens, who acted for Vitellius, had seized the passes of the Alps. And in Rome Dolabella, who was of an illustrious family, was suspected by the guards of some disloyal design. Otho either fearing him, or some other whom he could influence, sent him to Aquinum[6] with assurances of friendly treatment: and when he proceeded to select the officers who were to attend him upon his march, he appointed Lucius the brother of Vitellius to be of the number, without either promoting or lowering him in point of rank. He took also particular care

[6] A city on the left, or Campanian, side of the Liris.*

of the mother and wife of Vitellius, and endeavoured to place them in a situation, where they had nothing to fear. The government of Rome he bestowed upon Vespasian's brother Flavius Sabinus, either with an intention of doing honour to Nero, who had formerly given him that appointment (as Galba had deprived him of it) or else of showing his regard for Vespasian by promoting his brother.

Otho himself stopped at Brixellum[7], a town in Italy near the Po, and ordered the army to march forward under the conduct of his lieutenants Marius Celsus, Suetonius Paulinus, Gallus, and Spurina, officers of great reputation. But they could not pursue their concerted plan of operations, on account of the obstinacy and disorderly behaviour of the soldiers, who declared that they had made the emperor, and would be commanded by him alone. The enemy's troops were not under much better discipline: they too were refractory and disobedient to their officers, and on the same account. But they had seen service, and were accustomed to fatigue; whereas Otho's men had been used to idleness, and their mode of life was quite different from that in the field. They had spent most of their time indeed at public spectacles and the entertainments of the theatre, and had reached such a degree of insolence, that they did not pretend to be unable to perform their appointed services, but affected to be above them. Spurina, who attempted to use compulsion, incurred the danger of assassination. They spared no kind of abuse, calling him traitor, and telling him that it was he who had ruined Cæsar's affairs, and purposely missed the most favourable opportunities. Some of them came in the night intoxicated with liquor to his tent, and demanded their discharge; "For they had to go," they said, "to Cæsar, to accuse him."

The cause however, and Spurina with it, received

[7] *Hod.* Bersello, on the southern bank of the Po,

some benefit from the insult which these troops encountered at Placentia[8]. Those of Vitellius came up to the walls, and ridiculed Otho's men who were appointed to defend them, calling them 'players and dancers, fit only to attend the Pythian and Olympic games; fellows who knew nothing of war, who had never made a single campaign, who were puffed up with pride, merely because they had cut off the head of a poor unarmed old man (meaning Galba); wretches, that durst not look men in the face, or stand any thing like a fair and open battle.' With these reproaches they were so mortified, and so desirous of revenge, that they threw themselves at Spurina's feet, and implored him to command and employ them on whatever service he thought proper, assuring him that there was no danger or labour, which they would decline. After this, the enemy made a vigorous attack upon the town, and plied their battering engines with their whole force; but Spurina's men repulsed them with great slaughter, and thus kept possession of one of the richest and most respectable towns in Italy.

Of Otho's officers in general, it must be observed, that they were more obliging in their behaviour, both to cities and private persons, than those of Vitellius. Cecina, one of the latter, had nothing popular either in his address, or in his figure. He was of a gigantic size, and most uncouth appearance; for he wore breeches and long sleeves in the manner of the Gauls, even while his standard was Roman, and he gave his instructions to Roman officers. His wife followed him on horseback, in a rich dress, and was atended by a select party of cavalry. Fabius Valens, the other general, had such a passion for money, as was not to be satisfied either by plunder from the enemy, or by exactions and contributions from

[8] Not far from Brixellum. Cremona, mentioned below, was almost opposite to it, on the other side of the Po.*

the allies; insomuch, that he was believed to proceed more slowly for the sake of collecting gold as he advanced, and was therefore not up at the first action. Some indeed accuse Cecina of having hastened to give battle before the arrival of Valens, in order that the victory might be all his own, and (beside some smaller faults) charge him not only with having attacked at an unseasonable time, but also with not having maintained the combat so gallantly as he ought to have done: all which errors nearly ruined the affairs of his party.

Cecina, after his repulse at Placentia, marched against Cremona, another rich and great city. In the mean time Annius Gallus, who was going to join Spurina at Placentia, received intelligence by the way that he had been victorious, and that the siege was raised: but being informed at the same time that Cremona was in danger, he led his forces thither, and encamped very near the enemy. Subsequently, other officers brought in reinforcements. Cecina posted a strong body of infantry under cover of some trees and thickets, after which he ordered his cavalry to advance, and if the enemy attacked them, gradually to give way and retire, till they had drawn them into the ambuscade. But Celsus, being informed of his intention by some deserters, advanced with his best cavalry against Cecina's troops, and upon their retreating pursued them with so much caution, that he surrounded the corps, which lay in ambush. Having thus thrown them into confusion, he called the legions from the camp; and it appears, that if they had come up in time to support the horse, Cecina's whole army would have been cut in pieces. But, as Paulinus advanced very slowly[9], he was

[9] Tacitus (ii. 25, 26.) informs us, that Paulinus was naturally slow and irresolute. On this occasion, he charges him with two errors: the first, that instead of advancing immediately to the charge, and supporting his cavalry, he had trifled away the time in filling up the trenches; the other, that he did not avail himself of the disorder of the enemy, but sounded much too early a retreat.

censured for having used more precaution than became a general of his character. Nay, the soldiers accused him of treachery, and endeavoured to incense Otho against him; insisting that the victory had been in their hands, and that if it was incomplete, it was owing entirely to the mismanagement of their generals. Otho did not so much believe these representations, as he was willing to appear not to disbelieve them. He therefore sent his brother Titianus to the army, with Proculus the captain of his guard; Titianus to command in appearance, and Proculus in reality. Celsus and Paulinus had the title of friends and counsellors, but not the least authority in the direction of affairs.

The enemy too, particularly the forces of Valens, were not without their dissatisfaction and disorder: for when they learned what had happened at the ambuscade, they expressed their indignation that their general had not put it in their power to be there, that they might have used their endeavours to rescue the brave men, who perished in that action. They were even inclined to despatch him; but, having pacified them with much difficulty, he decamped and joined Cecina.

In the mean time Otho came to the camp at Bedriacum, a small town near Cremona, and there held a council of war. Proculus and Titianus were of opinion, "That he ought to give battle, while "the army retained those high spirits, with which "the late victory had inspired them; and not suffer "their ardour to cool, or wait till Vitellius arrived "in person from Gaul." But this was opposed by Paulinus: "The enemy," said he, "have received "all their troops, and have no farther preparations "to make for the combat; whereas Otho will have "from Mysia and Pannonia forces as numerous as "those which he has already, if he will wait his "own opportunity, instead of giving one to the "enemy. And certainly the army he now has, if "with their small numbers they have so much "ardour, will not fight with less but greater spirit,

[library stamp]

" when they see their numbers so much increased.
" Besides, the gaining of time is in our favour, be-
" cause we have every thing in abundance; whereas
" delays must greatly distress Cecina and his col-
" legue for necessaries, because they lie in an
" enemy's country."

This opinion was supported by Marius Celsus. Annius Gallus could not attend, because he had received some hurt by a fall from his horse, and was under cure. Otho therefore wrote to him, and Gallus advised him not to precipitate matters, but to wait for the army from Mysia, which was already on it's way. Otho however would not be guided by these counsels, and the opinion of those who were for immediately hazarding a battle prevailed. Different reasons are, indeed, alleged for this resolution. The most probable is, that the prætorian cohorts (which composed the emperor's guards) now coming to taste what real war was, longed to be once more at a distance from it, and to return to the ease, the company, and the public diversions of Rome; and therefore they could not be restrained in their eagerness for a battle, for they imagined that they could overpower the enemy at the first charge. Besides, Otho seems to have been no longer able to support himself in a state of suspense; such a horror of the thoughts of danger had his dissipation and effeminacy created! Overburthened then by his cares, he hastened to free himself from their weight: he covered his eyes, and leaped down the precipice: he committed all at once to fortune. Such is the account given of the matter by the orator Secundus, who was his secretary.

Others say, that the two parties were much inclined to lay down their arms, and unite in choosing an emperor out of the best generals they had; or, if they could not agree in their choice, to leave the election to the senate. Neither is it improbable, as the two who were called emperors were neither of them men of reputation, that the experienced and

prudent part of the soldiers should form such a design. For they could not but reflect, how unhappy and dreadful a thing it would be to plunge themselves afresh into those calamities, which the Romans could not bring upon each other without aching hearts in the quarrels of Sylla and Marius, of Cæsar and Pompey: and for what—but to provide an empire to minister to the insatiable appetite and drunkenness of Vitellius, or to the luxury and debaucheries of Otho[10]! These considerations are supposed to have induced Celsus to endeavour to gain time, in the hope that matters might be compromised without the sword; while Otho, from his fears of such an agreement, hastened the battle.

In the mean time he returned to Brixellum[11], which was certainly an additional error; as by that step he deprived the combatants of the reverence and emulation, which his presence might have inspired, and took a considerable limb from the body of the army (I mean some of the best and most active men, both horse and foot) for his body-guard. There happened about that time a rencontre upon the Po, Cecina's troops endeavouring to lay a bridge across that river, and those of Otho to prevent it. The latter, finding their other efforts ineffectual, placed a quantity of torches well covered with brimstone and pitch in some boats, which were carried by the wind and current against the enemy's work. First smoke, and afterward a bright flame, arose; upon which Cecina's men were so terrified that they leaped into the river, overset their boats, and were completely exposed to their enemies, who laughed at their awkward distress.

The German troops, however, beat Otho's gla-

[10] Upon the improbability of this being a general reflexion, see Tac. Hist. ii. 37.*

[11] It was debated in council, whether the emperor should be present in the action, or not. Marius Celsus and Paulinus durst not vote for it, lest they should seem inclined to expose his person. He therefore retired to Brixellum, a circumstance which contributed not a little to his ruin. (Tac. ib. 31.)

diators in a little island of the Po, and killed a considerable number of them. Otho's army in Bedriacum, resenting this affront, insisted on being led out to battle. Accordingly Proculus marched, and pitched his camp at the distance of fifty furlongs from Bedriacum. But he chose his ground in a most unskilful manner. For though it was in the spring-season, and the country afforded many fountains and rivulets, his army was distressed for water. Next day, Proculus wished to march against the enemy, who lay not less than a hundred furlongs off; but Paulinus would not agree to it. He said they ought to keep the post which they had taken, rather than after incurring much fatigue immediately engage an enemy, who could arm and array themselves at their leisure, while they were making such a march with all the incumbrance of baggage and servants. The generals disputed the point, till a Numidian horseman came with letters from Otho, ordering them to make no longer delay, but proceed to the attack without losing a moment's time [12]. Upon this they decamped of course, and went to seek the enemy. The news of their approach threw Cecina into great confusion; and immediately quitting his works and his post upon the river, he repaired to the camp, where he found most of the soldiers armed, and the word already given by Valens.

During the time that the infantry were forming, the best of the cavalry were directed to skirmish. At that moment a report was spread, from what cause we cannot tell, among Otho's van, that Vitellius' officers were coming over to their party. As soon therefore as they approached, they saluted them in a friendly manner, calling them 'Fellow-soldiers:' but, instead of receiving the appellation, they answered with a furious and hostile shout. The consequence was, that the authors of the compliment were

[12] See Tac. ib. 40.*

dispirited, and the rest suspected them of treason. This was the first thing, which disconcerted Otho's troops, for by this time the enemy had charged. Besides, they could preserve no order; the intermixture of the baggage, and the nature of the ground, preventing any regular movement. For the ground was so full of ditches and other inequalities, that they were forced to break their ranks, and wheel about to avoid them, and could only fight in small parties. There were but two legions, one of Vitellius' called 'the Devourer,' and one of Otho's called the 'Succourer,' which could disentangle themselves from the defiles, and gain the open plain. These engaged in a regular battle, and fought a long time. Otho's men were vigorous and brave, but they had not previously seen so much as a single action: on the other hand, those of Vitellius had much experience in the field; but they were old, and their strength decaying.

Otho's legion coming on with great fury mowed down the first ranks, and took the eagle. The enemy filled with shame and resentment advanced to chastise them, slew Orphidius their commander, and took several standards. Against the gladiators[13], who had the reputation of being brave fellows and excellent at close fighting, Alphenus Varus brought up the Batavians, who come from an island formed by the Rhine, and are the best cavalry in Germany. Against these a few of the gladiators made head, but the chief part fled to the river, and falling in with some of the enemy's infantry which was posted there, were all cut in pieces. None, however, behaved so ill that day as the prætorian bands. They did not even wait to receive the enemy's charge, but in their flight broke through the troops which as

13 Gladiators, as it appears from a dialogue of Plato's, who considers the circumstance as perfectly providential, were seldom in high estimation for military prowess. Those that fought under Spartacus, however, must be admitted to form a splendid exception to this remark.*

yet stood their ground, and threw them into disorder. Nevertheless, many of Otho's men were irresistible in the quarter where they fought, and opened a way through the victorious enemy to their camp. But Proculus and Paulinus took another direction; for they dreaded the soldiers, who already blamed their generals for the loss of the day.

Annius Gallus received into the city all the scattered parties, and endeavoured to encourage them by assurances that the advantage upon the whole was equal, and that their troops had the superiority in many parts of the field. But Marius Celsus assembled the principal officers, and desired them to consider of measures to save their country: "After "such an expense of Roman blood," said he, "Otho "himself, if he has any patriotism, will not tempt "fortune any more; since Cato and Scipio, in re-"fusing to submit to Cæsar after the battle of Phar-"salia, are accused of having unnecessarily sacri-"ficed the lives of many brave men in Africa, not-"withstanding that they fought for the liberties of "their country. Fortune indeed is capricious, and "all men are liable to suffer her inconstancy: yet "good men have one advantage, of which she can "never deprive them, and that is, in every contin-"gency to avail themselves of their reason." These arguments prevailed upon the officers, and on sounding the private men, they found them desirous of peace. Titianus himself was of opinion, that they ought to send embassadors to treat for a coalition. In pursuance of which, Celsus and Gallus were charged with a commission to Cecina and Valens. As they were upon the road, they met some centurions, who informed them that Vitellius' army was advancing to Bedriacum, and that they were despatched before by their generals with proposals for an accommodation. Celsus and Gallus commended their design, and desired them to go back with them to meet Cecina.

When they approached that general's army, Cel-

sus was in great danger. For the cavalry, which had been beaten in the affair of the ambuscade, happening to be in the van, no sooner saw him, than they advanced with loud shouts against him. The centurions however threw themselves before him, and the other officers called out to them to do him no violence. Cecina himself, when informed of the tumult, rode up and quelled it, and after he had made his compliments to Celsus in a very obliging manner, accompanied him to Bedriacum.

In the mean time Titianus, repenting that he had sent the embassadors, placed the most resolute of the soldiers again upon the walls, and exhorted the rest to assist. But when Cecina rode up and offered his hand, not a man of them would oppose him. Some saluted his men from the walls, and others opened the gates; after which they went out, and mixed with the troops that were coming up. Instead of acts of hostility, there was nothing but mutual caresses and other demonstrations of friendship; in consequence of which they all took the oath to Vitellius, and ranged themselves under his banner.

This is the account, which most of those that were in the battle give of it: at the same time however they confess that they did not know all the particulars, because of the confused manner in which they fought, and the inequality of the ground. Long afterward, when I was passing over the field of battle, Mestrius Florus a person of consular dignity pointed out to me an old man, who in his youth had served under Otho with others his coevals, not from inclination but by constraint[14]. He told me also,

[14] From this passage Dacier would infer, that the Life of Otho was not written by Plutarch. A person, he contends, who had served as a young man under Otho, could not be old at the time, when Plutarch can be supposed to have visited the field of battle. His argument is this. That battle was fought A. D. 69. Plutarch returned from Italy to Chæronea about the end of Domitian's reign, A. D. 93 or 94, and never again left his native city. As this retreat of Plutarch's was only four or five-and-twenty years after the battle of Bedriacum, he concludes that a person who fought in that

that on visiting the field after the battle, he saw a huge pile of dead bodies as high as the head of a man; and upon inquiring the reason, he could neither discover it himself, nor gain any information about it. It was no wonder that there was a great carnage in the event of a general rout, because in a civil war they make no prisoners, as such captives would be no advantage to the conquerors; but it is difficult to assign a reason, why the carcases should be piled up in that manner.

An uncertain rumour (as it commonly happens) was first brought to Otho, and afterward some of the wounded came and assured him, that the battle was lost. That his friends upon this occasion strove to encourage him, and keep him from desponding, was nothing extraordinary; but the attachment of the soldiers to him exceeds all belief. None of them left him, or went over to the enemy, or consulted his own safety, even when their chief despaired of his. On the contrary they thronged his gates; they called him emperor; they left no form of application untried; they kissed his hands; they fell at his feet, and with groans and tears they entreated him not to forsake them or give them up to their enemies, but to employ their hearts and hands to the last moment of their lives. In this request they all concurred; and one of the private men drawing his

battle as a young man could not possibly be old, when Plutarch made the tour of Italy; and therefore conjectures that this, as well as the life of Galba, must have been written by a son of Plutarch. But we think no argument, in a matter of such importance, ought to be adduced from a passage manifestly corrupt. Besides, Lamprias in the catalogue ascribes these two Lives to his father. Neither do we discover such a dissimilarity to Plutarch's other writings, either in the stile or manner, as warrants us to conclude that they are not from his hand. Henri L'Etienne did not, indeed, admit them into his edition, because he found them among the *Opuscula*; some of which being supposed to be spurious, he too hastily concluded that these were of the number. The loss of Plutarch's Lives of the other Emperors, we regard as a real loss to the world; and we should have been glad if they had come down to us, even in the same imperfect condition of text as those of Galba, and Otho.

sword, thus addressed him: "Learn, Cæsar, what "your soldiers are ready to do for you," and immediately plunged the steel into his heart.

Unmoved at this affecting scene, and with a cheerful and steady countenance looking round upon the company, Otho harangued them as follows: "This "day, my fellow-soldiers, I consider as a more "happy one than that upon which you made me "emperor, when I see you thus disposed, and stand "so high in your opinion. But deprive me not of "a still greater happiness, that of laying down my "life with honour for so many generous Romans. "If I am worthy of the Roman empire, I ought to "shed my blood for my country. I know the victory, "which my adversary has gained, is by no means "decisive. I have intelligence, that my army from "Mysia is at the distance of but a few days' march; "Asia, Syria, and Egypt are pouring their legions "upon the Adriatic; the forces in Judæa declare "for us; the senate is with us; and the very wives "and children of our enemies are so many pledges "in our hands. But we are not fighting for Italy "with Annibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cimbri: our dispute is with the Romans; and whatever party "prevails, whether we conquer or are conquered, our "country must suffer. Under the victor's joy she "bleeds. Believe me then, my friends, that I can "die with greater glory, than reign. For I know "no benefit which Rome can reap from my victory, "equal to what I shall confer upon her by sacrificing myself for peace and unanimity, and thus "preventing Italy from beholding such another day "as this[15]!"

After he had made this speech, and showed himself immoveable to those who attempted to alter his resolution, he desired his friends, and such senators as were present, to leave him and provide for their

[15] Compare with this the different speech put into Otho's mouth by Tacitus, Hist. ii. 47. In his subsequent address to Cocceius, they more nearly agree. (ib. 48.)*

own safety. To those who were absent he sent the same commands, and signified his pleasure to the cities by letters, that they should receive them honourably, and supply them with good convoys.

He then called his nephew Cocceius[16], who was yet very young, and bade him compose himself, and not fear Vitellius: "I have taken the same care," said he, "of his mother, his wife, and his children, "as if they had been my own. And for the same "reason, I mean for your sake, I deferred the adop-"tion which I intended you. For I thought proper "to wait the issue of this war, that you might reign "with me if I conquered, and not fall with me if I "was overcome. The last thing, my son, which I "have to recommend to you is, neither entirely to "forget, nor yet to remember too well, that you "had an emperor for your uncle."

A moment afterward, he heard a loud noise and tumult at his gate. The soldiers, seeing the senators retiring, threatened to kill them if they moved a step farther, or abandoned the emperor. Otho in the utmost concern for them, again showed himself at the door, but no longer with a mild and supplicating air; on the contrary, he cast such a stern and angry look upon the most turbulent of them, that they withdrew in great fear and confusion.

In the evening he was thirsty, and drank a little water. He then had two swords brought to him, and having examined the points of both a long time, he sent one away, and put the other under his arm. After this, he called his servants, and with many expressions of kindness gave them money: not that he chose to be lavish of what would soon be another's, for he gave to some more, and to others less, proportioning his bounty to their merit, and paying a strict regard to propriety.

On dismissing them, he dedicated the remainder

[16] Tacitus and Suetonius call him 'Cocceianus.'

of the night to repose, and slept so soundly, that his chamberlains heard him at the door. Early in the morning he called his freedman, who assisted him in the care of the senators, and ordered him to make the proper inquiries about them. The answer which he brought was, that they were departed, and had been provided with every thing they desired. Upon which he said, " Go you then, and show yourself to " the soldiers, that they may not imagine you have " assisted me in despatching myself, and put you to " some cruel death for it."

As soon as the freedman was gone out, he fixed the hilt of his sword upon the ground, and holding it with both hands fell upon it with so much force, that he expired with only a single groan. The servants in waiting without heard the groan, and burst into a loud lamentation, which was echoed throughout the camp and the city. The soldiers ran to the gates with the most pitiable wailings and the most unfeigned grief, reproaching themselves for not having guarded their emperor, and prevented his dying for them. Not one of them would leave him, in order to provide for himself, though the enemy was at hand. They attired the body in a magnificent manner, and prepared a funeral-pile; after which they attended the procession in their armour, and happy was the man, that could come to support his bier. Some kneeled and kissed his wound, some grasped his hand, and others prostrated themselves upon the ground, and adored him at a distance. Nay, there were some who threw their torches upon the pile, and then slew themselves: not that they had received any extraordinary favours from the deceased, or were afraid of suffering under the hands of the conqueror; but no king or tyrant, it appears, was ever so passionately fond of governing, as they were of being governed by Otho. Neither did their affection cease with his death: it survived the grave, and terminated in the hatred and destruction of

Vitellius. Of that we shall give an account in it's proper place[17].

After they had interred the remains of Otho, they erected a monument over them, which neither by it's size nor by any pomp of epitaph could excite the smallest degree of envy. I have seen it at Brixellum: it was extremely modest, and the inscription only this;

TO THE MEMORY OF

MARCUS OTHO.

Otho died at the age of thirty-seven, having reigned but three months. Those, who find fault with his life, are not more respectable for either their numbers or their rank, than those who applaud his death. For, though his life was not much more correct than that of Nero, his death was certainly much more honourable.

The soldiers were extremely incensed against Pollio[18], one of the principal officers of the guards, for persuading them to take the oath immediately to Vitellius; and being informed that there were still some senators upon the spot, they let the others pass, but solicited Verginius Rufus in a troublesome manner. They even went in arms to his house, and insisted that he should accept the imperial title, or at least be their mediator with the conqueror. But he, who had refused to receive that title from them when they were victorious, thought it would be the height of madness to do so after they had been beaten: and he was afraid of applying to the Germans

[17] Viz. in the Life of that Emperor, which is now lost. See p. 258., not. 14.*

[18] Of this officer neither Suetonius nor Tacitus make any mention; unless indeed, as Lipsius conjectures, he be the same with Plotius Firmus the præfect, spoken of by the latter writer. Hist. ii. 46.*

in their behalf, because he had obliged that people to do many things contrary to their inclinations. He, therefore, went out privately at another door. When the soldiers found that he had left them, they took the oath to Vitellius, and having obtained their pardon, were enrolled among the troops of Cecina.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

END OF THE LIVES OF PLUTARCH.

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scribed, *ib.* 429. His free manner engaging to the soldiers, 429. His great liberality, *ib.* Through Curio's means is elected tribune of the people, and is very serviceable to Cæsar against Pompey, 430. After some equitable proposals in behalf of Cæsar to the senate, he is commanded by Lentulus the consul to leave the house, *ib.* 431. Disguises himself like a servant, and goes immediately to Cæsar, 431. Upon this, Cæsar enters Italy, *ib.* Leaves the command of the army of Italy to Antony, during his expedition to Spain, and on his return connives at his irregularities, 432. Antony beats off Libo, and carries a considerable reinforcement to Cæsar, *ib.* 433. Distinguishes himself in every engagement, 433. Has the command of Cæsar's left wing in the battle of Pharsalia, *ib.* Cæsar going in pursuit of Pompey, sends Antony to Rome in character of general of the horse, *ib.* Dolabella, one of the tribunes, proposes a decree for abolishing debts, *ib.* Antony, who suspects him of a criminal commerce with his wife, opposes him, 434. He dismisses his wife, who was the daughter of Caius Antonius, *ib.* All sober people are offended at his excessive irregularities, *ib.* Cæsar, to show his dislike of these proceedings, takes Lepidus, and not Antony, for his collegue in the consulship, 435. Cæsar orders him to pay for Pompey's house, which he had, *ib.* He marries Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, a woman of a most ambitious spirit, *ib.* Cæsar on his return from Spain, takes Antony for his collegue, 436. Antony, in the feast of the Lupercalia, attempts to put a diadem on the head of Cæsar, 437. Some of the conspirators against Cæsar propose, that Antony should be taken off with him, but Brutus objects, 438. Antony is amused without, while Cæsar is despatched in the senate house, *ib.* He absconds in the habit of a slave, *ib.* Sends his son to the conspirators in the Capitol, as a hostage, *ib.* Proposes an act of amnesty to the senate, *ib.* Ambition draws him from these moderate councils, *ib.* In making Cæsar's funeral oration, he exasperates the people against the conspirators, *ib.* 439. Brutus and his party leave the city, and Cæsar's friends join Antony, 439. Calpurnia, Cæsar's relict, entrusts him with her treasure, *ib.* The advantage Antony makes of Cæsar's papers, *ib.* Octavius, the relation and heir of Cæsar, arrives at Rome from Apollonia, *ib.* As Cæsar's executor he applies to Antony for the effects, and is refused, 440. An accommodation between Octavius and Antony takes place, but is soon destroyed, *ib.* They both prepare for war, *ib.* Cicero persuades the senate to declare Antony a public enemy, and to commission Hirtius and Pansa to drive him out of Italy, *ib.* 441. The consuls are slain near Mutina, but Antony is defeated, 441. Antony and his troops are distressed by famine, *ib.* He is a pattern of fortitude, *ib.* Passes the Alps, and draws over the troops of Lepidus, but attempts nothing against his life or honour, *ib.* 442. Munatius Plancus joins him, 442. He leaves a sufficient force in Gaul, and returns to Italy with a great army, *ib.* Octavius, finding Cicero resolved to restore the commonwealth, comes to an accommodation with Antony, *ib.* They and Lepidus

meet in a little river-island, and divide the empire of the world among them, *ib.* They proscribe no fewer than three hundred Romans, 443. Octavius agrees to marry Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, *ib.* Antony orders Cicero's head, and the hand with which he had written the Philippics, to be placed on the Rostra, *ib.* The mother of Antony saves Lucius Cæsar, *ib.* 444. The triumvirate is extremely oppressive, 444. Antony disgraces Pompey's house with the vilest excesses, *ib.* Octavius insists on a division of the treasure and the army, *ib.* They go against Brutus and Cassius, and leave Lepidus governor of Rome, *ib.* Cassius is defeated by Antony, and puts an end to his life, 445. Brutus is beaten in a second battle, and slays himself, *ib.* The honour of this victory, too, falls to Antony, *ib.* Antony slays Hortensius on the tomb of his brother Caius, *ib.* Throws his purple robe over the body of Brutus, and orders him an honourable funeral, *ib.* Cæsar is conveyed to Rome sick, *ib.* Antony raises contributions in Asia, having promised five thousand drachmas to each private man, *ib.* Returns to Greece, where his behaviour at first is very acceptable, *ib.* Passes again into Asia, where he lives in the most luxurious manner, 446. Is celebrated at Ephesus in the character of Bacchus, *ib.* Disgraces his jollity and freedom with the most savage cruelty and extortion, 447. His real character more developed, *ib.* Cleopatra comes into Cicilia, to answer a charge laid against her, and Antony falls into her snares, 448. She sails along the Cydnus in the character of Venus, 449. Their mutual invitations, 450. Her address and versatility, *ib.* She sings admirably, and speaks most languages, *ib.* While Fulvia is supporting the interests of Antony at Rome, he is revelling with Cleopatra at Alexandria, 451. Antony's son makes a magnificent present to Philotas the physician, 452. Cleopatra attends him in his night-rambles in the habit of a slave, *ib.* His fishing-story, 453. He receives disagreeable news from different quarters, *ib.* He awakes from his intoxication, marches to Phœnicia, and thence sails to Italy, *ib.* 454. Fulvia dies at Sicyon, *ib.* This event opens a way for reconciliation between him and Cæsar, *ib.* The triumvirate settle their respective claims and powers, *ib.* Cæsar gives his sister Octavia to Antony in marriage, *ib.* Sextus the son of Pompey, having gained a considerable maritime power, is allowed to keep Sicily and Sardinia, 455. Sextus has an opportunity to destroy Antony and Cæsar at an entertainment on board his galley, but forbears it, *ib.* 456. Antony sends Ventidius into Asia against the Parthians, 456. Takes upon himself the office of high priest to Cæsar the dictator, *ib.* The star of Octavius' fortune superior to that of Antony, *ib.* Antony leaves Italy, and takes Octavia with him into Greece, *ib.* Celebrates Gymnastic games at Athens, on news that Vantidius was successful against the Parthians, 457. Ventidius engages Pacorus, son of the king of Parthia, in Syria, and kills him, *ib.* He brings Antiochus, the son of Commagene, to terms, 458. Antony, as well as Octavius, more successful by their lieutenants, than where they acted in

person, *ib.* Upon some disagreeable news concerning Cæsar's designs, Antony sails with three hundred ships for Italy, *ib.* Octavia interposes, and reconciles them, *ib.* 459. Cæsar goes to war with Pompey for the recovery of Sicily; and Antony, leaving his wife and children in the care of Cæsar, sets out for Asia, 459. On his arrival there, he sends for Cleopatra, *ib.* He presents her with several considerable provinces, 460. Gives the surnames of the Sun and Moon to the twins he had by her, *ib.* Phraates slays his father Orodes; upon which many of the Parthian chiefs fly to Antony, *ib.* He gives Moneses three cities, 461. Reviews his army in Armenia, which consists of a hundred thousand men, *ib.* His attachment to Cleopatra precipitates his measures, *ib.* He lays siege to Phraata without his battering engines, 462. Phraates falls upon Tatianus, who was conducting the engines, kills ten thousand of his men, and destroys the engines, *ib.* Artavasdes, king of Armenia, withdraws in despair, *ib.* Antony attempts to bring the Parthians to a pitched battle, but does not succeed, 463. The Parthians gall the Romans in their return to their camp, *ib.* Antony finds that his troops had fled in his absence from before Phraata, and punishes them with decimation, *ib.* 464. Phraates pretends to come to terms with Antony, but intends all the time to harass him in his retreat, 464, 465. Antony designs to take his rout through an open country, but is advised, by a certain Mardian, to take the safer road of the mountains, 465. The Parthians make their appearance the third day, and attack the Romans, 466. Antony, after this, marches in so judicious a form, that the enemy can make little impression, and think of retiring, *ib.* Flavius Gallus proposes to perform some considerable exploit with a select party; but drawing too far from the main body, is surrounded, *ib.* 467. Antony himself, at last, beats the enemy off, 467. The great affection of the troops for him, *ib.* His address to the army on that occasion, 468. The Romans, when attacked again, assume the form of a pent-house, 469. Famine prevails among them, *ib.* They eat an herb, which brings on madness and death, *ib.* Antony often cries out, 'O the ten thousand!' 470. Mithridates, cousin to Moneses, comes in the night, and warns Antony not to descend into the plain, *ib.* 471. The Parthians, contrary to custom, pursue him in the night, 471. The Romans have to contend with thirst, and with the Parthians, at the same time, *ib.* They come up to a river, whose water is sharp, and drink of it too freely, *ib.* The Mardian acquaints them, that there is another at no great distance, sweeter and more salubrious, *ib.* Mithridates comes again, and advises the Romans to hasten to that river; because it would terminate the pursuit, 472. Antony, accordingly, moves on; but a strange disorder happens in his army, and his tent is plundered, *ib.* The Romans pass the last-mentioned river in peace, 473. Six days after this, they reach the Araxes, and when they have passed it, kiss the ground in Armenia with great avidity, *ib.* The new plenty throws them into the dropsy and the cholic, 474. Antony does not chastise

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† *Cænon*, iv. 172.

Cæphisias, a musician, iii. 75.

Cæpio, defeated by the Teutones and Cimbri, iv. 4. iii. 366.

———, marries Pompey's daughter, who had been contracted to Faustus the son of Sylla, iv. 184.

———, half brother to Cato the younger, much beloved by him, v. 51, 52. His death, 58.

CÆSAR, Caius Julius, Sylla endeavours to bring him to repudiate Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, and being unable to effect it, confiscates her dowry, iv. 356, 357. Marius, by marrying Julia, Cæsar's aunt, had a family-connexion with him, 357. Cæsar loses the priesthood through Sylla's means, *ib.* Sylla says, 'that in Cæsar were many Mariuses,' *ib.* Cæsar conceals himself, *ib.* Sylla's blood-hounds fall in with him, *ib.* He bribes one Cornelius to let him go, *ib.* 358. Repairs to Nicomedes in Bithynia, *ib.* Re-embarks, and is taken by pirates, *ib.* In what manner he lived, while among the pirates, *ib.* Pays his ransom, mans some vessels, takes those pirates, and crucifies them, *ib.* 359. Studies under Apollonius Molo at Rhodes, 359. Has great powers as an orator, *ib.* Accuses Dolabella and Publius Antonius, 360. Gains a considerable interest by defending persons impeached, and a still greater by his condescension, and the generous manner in which he lives, *ib.* Persons in power disregard him at first, imagining he must soon exhaust his estate, *ib.* Cicero seems to have been the first, who discovered in him deep and dangerous designs, *ib.* 361. He obtains a tribuneship in the army before his competitor Popilius, 361. Pronounces the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, *ib.*, and has the hardiness to bring forth the images of Marius, *ib.* Pronounces a funeral panegyric for his own wife, which (as she was a young woman) was contrary to custom, 362. Goes out quæstor to Spain with Antistius Veter, *ib.* Takes Pompeia to his third wife, *ib.* A thousand three hundred talents in debt before he got any public employment, *ib.* Exhibits three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, when ædile, *ib.* Revives the faction of Marius, and restores his images, 363. Catulus impeaches him for this, *ib.* The senate acquit him, *ib.* Metellus, the chief-pontiff, dies, and Cæsar stands for that high office against Isauricus and Catulus, 364. Catulus offers him large sums, on condition that he will drop his pre-

tensions, but he rejects them, *ib.* His saying to his mother on that occasion, *ib.* Piso and Catulus blame Cicero for sparing Cæsar in the time of Catiline's conspiracy, *ib.* The speech, which Cæsar made in the senate at that time, for a lighter punishment than death, 365. In danger of being killed on that occasion, as he goes out of the senate-house, *ib.* During his prætorship, while the women are celebrating the mysteries of the *Bona Dea* in his house, Clodius concerts an intrigue with Pompeia, 366, 367. Claudius is detected, 368. Cæsar divorces Pompeia, *ib.* His celebrated saying thereupon, *ib.* Cæsar has the government of the Farther Spain after his prætorship, 369. Crassus engages for him for debts of eight hundred and thirty talents, before he can leave Rome, *ib.* Another saying of his, on passing through a village on the Alps, 370. His concern on reading the history of Alexander the Great, *ib.* He reduces some of the nations of Spain, and penetrates to the ocean, *ib.* His civil government satisfactory to the Spaniards, though he fills his own coffers, *ib.* At his return he drops his triumph, because his application for that and the consulate at the same time was not consistent, 371. Reconciles Pompey and Crassus, *ib.* Cato alone foresees the bad consequence of that union, *ib.* Cæsar is appointed consul with Calpurnius Bibulus, 372. Procures decrees for a division of lands and distribution of corn, *ib.* Gives his daughter Julia to Pompey, *ib.* Marries Calpurnia the daughter of Piso, and procures the consulship for Piso for the year ensuing, *ib.* Bibulus, finding his opposition fruitless and his life often in danger, attends the public assemblies no more, 373. Pompey fills the Forum with armed men, and Cæsar has the government of Gaul decreed him for five years, *ib.* Cæsar sends Cato toward prison, but does not commit him, *ib.* His question to Considius, and that senator's answer, *ib.* He gets Clodius elected tribune of the people, 374. Is the greatest general and conqueror the Romans ever had, *ib.* Instances of the valour of his soldiers, 375, 376. The great example he set them in that respect, 376. Has the falling sickness first at Corduba, *ib.* His indefatigable powers, *ib.* 377. An excellent horseman, 377. Not difficult in his diet, *ib.* Defeats the Helvetii and Tigurini, who burned their own towns, and designed to penetrate into Italy, 378. Obliges them to settle again in the countries they had quitted, 379. His war in defence of the Ædui, against Ariovistus king of the Germans, *ib.* He puts his army in winter quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repairs to Gaul on this side the Po, 381. Great numbers come to him from Rome, and he carries on a variety of state-intrigues, *ib.* The Belgæ revolt, and he soon reduces them, *ib.* Marches against the Nervii, who attack him suddenly, and at first gain considerable advantage, 382. His own valour, and that of the tenth legion, restore the action, and he destroys almost all their troops, *ib.* 383. The senate order a thanksgiving for fifteen days, on account of this victory, 383. He crosses the Alps again, and strengthens his interest by bribery, *ib.* Pompey and Crassus, with a multitude

of other senators, wait on him at Lucca, *ib.* It is agreed that they shall be consuls the year ensuing, and to get Cæsar's government prolonged for five years more, *ib.* The Usipetes and the Tenchteri, two German nations, renew the war, 384. Cæsar kills four hundred thousand of them, 385. The Sicambri harbour the few who escaped, and this affords him a pretence to enter Germany, *ib.* He throws a bridge over the Rhine, *ib.* The Suevi and the Sicambri retire into their forests, *ib.* Cæsar after having laid waste the country with fire, returns to Gaul, *ib.* 386. His two expeditions into Britain, 386. He receives news of Julia's death, *ib.* The people bury her in the Campus Martius, 387. He separates his legions for the convenience of winter-quarters, *ib.* The Gauls, under the conduct of Ambiorix, fall upon them, and cut off some of his lieutenants, *ib.* He gets intelligence of this, on the road to Italy, and hastens back to the relief of Quintus Cicero, *ib.* The Gauls march against him, and he defeats them by stratagem, *ib.* 388. Pompey lends him two legions, in the room of those he had lost, 388. The Gauls revolt again, and, under the conduct of Vercingetorix, begin hostilities, in the midst of a severe winter, *ib.* 389. He defeats them with his usual good fortune, 390. The remainder of their army retires into Alesia, *ib.* He besieges them there, *ib.* A prodigious army comes to raise the siege, but he puts it to the rout, 390. The besieged surrender, and Vercingetorix puts himself in the hands of the conqueror, 391. The death of Crassus opens the way to the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, *ib.* The corrupt state of Rome at that time, makes it unfit to subsist any longer as a commonwealth, 392. Pompey is declared sole consul, and has his governments of Spain and Africa continued to him, *ib.* Cæsar applies for another consulship, and for the continuation of his commission in Gaul, *ib.* The consuls behave to his agents with rancour, and even disfranchise the colony of Novocomum which he had lately planted, 393. After the consulship of Marcellus, Cæsar gains the new consul Paulus, and the tribune Curio, by money, *ib.* Sends back the two legions, which Pompey had lent him, *ib.* These troops give it out, that Cæsar's whole army was ready to come over to Pompey, *ib.* Pompey opposes his enemy only with speeches and decrees, 394. Cæsar's requisitions have a great appearance of justice: but Scipio and Lentulus carry it against him in the senate, *ib.* 395. Cicero almost brings matters to a compromise, 395. But Lentulus, in the rage of party, drives out the tribunes Antony and Curio, and they fly to Cæsar in the habit of slaves, *ib.* Cæsar is perplexed in his deliberations on the banks of the Rubicon, 396. He passes it, 397. Takes Ariminum, *ib.* Rome, and the rest of Italy, are in a great consternation, *ib.* Favonius bids Pompey 'stamp with his foot, and bring his legions out of the earth,' *ib.* Pompey leaves Rome, and orders the senate, and every friend to liberty to follow him, 398. Labienus goes over to Pompey, *ib.* Cæsar takes Domitius in Corfinium, who, though pardoned by his captor, soon revolts

again to Pompey, *ib.* 399. Pompey retires to Brundusium, and thence to Dyrrachium, 399. Cæsar, having reduced all Italy in sixty days, repairs to Rome, *ib.* Takes money out of the public treasury, notwithstanding the opposition from Metellus, 400. Marches into Spain, reduces Pompey's army there, and incorporates it with his own, *ib.* Returns to Rome, and is declared dictator by the senate there, *ib.* His acts while he holds that office, which is only for eleven days, *ib.* 401. Declares himself consul with Servilius Isauricus, 401. Marches to Brundusium, *ib.* Crosses the Ionian Sea with part of his troops, *ib.* Takes Oricum and Apollonia, *ib.* Sends back his ships, to bring over the rest of his forces, but those ships are taken by the enemy, *ib.* Resolves to cross the sea in a twelve-oared boat, to fetch the rest of his forces, but the winter storms prevent it, 402, 403. Antony arrives from Brundusium with the troops, 403. Cæsar is distressed for provisions, *ib.* Has the advantage in several skirmishes; but in one is driven back to his camp, and in danger of having it taken, 404. Cæsar's saying on that occasion, 405. He marches against Scipio, who lay in Macedon, *ib.* Pompey for good reasons is for waiting the advantages of time, but not a man, except Cato, is of his opinion, *ib.* 406. Cæsar takes Gomphi in Thessaly, *ib.* Asks his troops whether they chose immediately to risque an action, or to wait for reinforcements, 407. Omens of victory to Cæsar, 408. Circumstances previous to the battle of Pharsalia, *ib.* 409. The battle, 409, 410. Pompey flies, 411. What Cæsar said, on viewing the enemy's camp, *ib.* He incorporates with his own troops most of the prisoners, and pardons many persons of distinction; Brutus among the rest, *ib.* Cæsar bestows liberty on the whole country of Thessaly, 412. Grants the same privilege to the Cnidians, at the request of Theopompus, *ib.* Discharges the inhabitants of Asia from a third part of their imposts, *ib.* His behaviour, when Theodotus presented to him the head of Pompey, *ib.* He has the satisfaction of saving every day one or other of his fellow-citizens, 413. Is ill treated by Photinus, and sends for Cleopatra, *ib.* Demands the sums due to him from Ptolemy, *ib.* The stratagem by which Cleopatra was conveyed into his palace, 414. He insists that she shall reign along with her brother, *ib.* Achillas and Photinus plot against Cæsar's life, *ib.* Cæsar kills Photinus; but Achillas escapes to the army, and involves Cæsar in a very dangerous war, *ib.* The Egyptians stop up the aqueducts, that supplied his quarter, *ib.* He is forced to burn his ships in harbour, *ib.* The flames destroy the great Alexandrian library, *ib.* Cæsar's extreme danger in the naval fight near Pharos, 415. Ptolemy is never heard of after it, *ib.* Cleopatra brings Cæsar a son, who is named Cæsario, *ib.* On intelligence that Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, had defeated his lieutenant Domitius, he marches against him, and defeats him near Zela, *ib.* His laconic account of that action, 416. Returns to Rome near the end of the year of his second dictatorship, *ib.* Is declared consul for the year ensuing, *ib.* Does

not sufficiently punish either his lieutenants or his soldiers for their misdemeanors, *ib.* Begins the war in Africa against Cato, Scipio, and Juba, 417. Gives one Scipio Sallution the nominal command, on account of an oracle which declared 'the Scipios would be always victorious in Africa,' *ib.* Is much annoyed by the Numidian cavalry, 418. Falls upon Scipio, as he is fortifying the camp of Thapsus, and gives him an entire defeat, *ib.* Takes the camp of Afranius, and destroys that of Juba, with the same tide of success, *ib.* Hastens to Utica, in hopes of taking Cato alive, 419. His saying on finding that he had despatched himself, *ib.* He writes the 'Anti-Cato,' 420. Leads up his triumphs, *ib.* Entertains the people at twenty-two thousand tables, *ib.* Exibits games in honour of his daughter Julia, *ib.* Marches into Spain, and fights the battle of Munda, in which he defeats the sons of Pompey with great difficulty, 421, 422. The elder of the sons is taken, and put to death, 422. His triumph for this victory displeases the Romans, *ib.* He is created perpetual dictator, 423. Other extravagant honours are conferred upon him, *ib.* A temple is built to Clemency, *ib.* He rears again the statues of Pompey, which had been thrown down, *ib.* Cicero's saying on that occasion, *ib.* Refuses to have a guard, and why, *ib.* Colonizes Carthage and Corinth, *ib.* Studious to gain all ranks of people, 424. Designs to conquer Parthia, and from thence to march northward, extending the Roman empire to the ocean on every side, 425. Attempts to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth, and meditates other great things, *ib.* Corrects the calendar, 426. His passion for the title of king proves his ruin, 427. He does not rise to the senate, when they wait on him in a body, *ib.* Antony offers him a diadem, at the festival of the Lupercalia, 428. He finds the people against his receiving it, 429. Two of the tribunes take the persons into custody, who first saluted him king, and tear the diadems from his statues, *ib.* He deposes the tribunes, *ib.* Brutus is desired to take off the tyrant, *ib.* He hesitates on account of the obligations he had to Cæsar, *ib.* Cæsar has some intimation of the conspiracy, and suspects Cassius, but will believe nothing ill of Brutus, 430. Presages of Cæsar's death, 431. He prefers a sudden death to any other, *ib.* Calpurnia's dream, 432. He sends Antony to adjourn the senate, *ib.* Brutus Albinus laughs him out of his fears, and conducts him to the senate house, *ib.* 433. Artemidorus puts a paper into his hand, containing an account of the conspiracy; but he has not opportunity to read it, 433. Cassius addresses the statue of Pompey, 434. Antony is held in discourse without the house, *ib.* The conspirators approach him under pretence of petitioning for the brother of Cimber, *ib.* Casca gives him the first blow, *ib.* Cæsar makes some resistance, but on perceiving the sword of Brutus, yields to his fate, 435. He dyes the pedestal of Pompey's statue with his blood, *ib.* The body of Cæsar is burnt in the Forum, 436. He died at the age of fifty-six, and survived Pompey only four years, 437. Those who dipt their hands in

his blood, come to an untimely end, *ib.* A comet appears after his death, 438. Reflexions on Plutarch's Life of him, 439, *n.*
Cæsar, Octavianus. See *Augustus.*
——, Lucius, sent by the council of Utica to intercede with Cæsar, iv. 116. Given up by Antony in the proscription, though his uncle, v. 443.
——, Sextus Julius, iii. 235, *n.*
Cæsario, son of Julius Cæsar, by Cleopatra, iv. 415. v. 494. Murdered by Octavianus, v. 503.
Caius, foster-brother to Mithridates, steals his diadem after his death, and gives it to Faustus the son of Sylla, iv. 178.
—— *Cornelius,* of Padua, foretells Cæsar's victory, iv. 412. See the other *Caii* under their family names.
Calanus, the Indian philosopher, iv. 338, 339. His symbol of the ox's hide, 339. Burns himself, 343.
† *Calauria,* ii. 268. iv. 153. v. 34, 287.
Calenus, iv. 407.
Callæcians, iv. 370.
Callæschrus, ii. 162.
Callippus, an acquaintance of Dion's, with whom he lodged at Athens, vi. 15. Goes with Dion to Syracuse, 50. Murthers him, 52. Killed, 53.
Calliades, an Athenian officer, defeated in Thrace, iii. 406.
Callias the Athenian, makes a declaration in form that if he died without children, the people should be his heirs, ii. 122. Takes the Persian gold, and kills the person that directed him to it, 453. First cousin to Aristides, and accused of suffering him to want necessaries, 486. Vindicates himself against that charge, 487. Marries Elpinice, iii. 299. Negotiates a good treaty with the king of Persia, 312.
——, the Syracusan, v. 257.
Callibius appointed governor of the citadel of Athens by Lysander, iii. 206.
Callicles the usurer, v. 11.
——, the son of Arrenides, v. 282.
Callicrates, a Spartan officer, wounded at the approach of the battle of Platææ, ii. 473. What he said, just before he expired, *ib.*
——, the Syracusan general, challenges Lamachus, and they die by each other's hand, iii. 426.
——, and Ictinus, the architects, rebuild the Parthenon, ii. 23.
Callicratidas, the Spartan general, succeeds Lysander, iii. 193. Not a popular or courtly man, but brave and virtuous, *ib.* Fails in his application to Cyrus for money, 194. Defeated and slain at the battle of Arginusæ, *ib.*
Callidromus, Mount, ii. 510.
Callimachus, the poet, i. 26, *n.*
——, an excellent engineer in the service of Mithridates, iii. 352. Sets fire to the city of Amisus, when he can no longer

defend it, *ib.* Taken prisoner by Lucullus at Nisibis, and kept in chains, 375.
Callimedon, surnamed Carabus, v. 32, 284. Flies from Athens, v. 39. Sentence of death passed against him, 42, 43.
Calliphon, an Athenian exile, intercedes with Sylla for Athens, iii. 251.
Callipedes, the Tragedian, iv. 96. His vanity, *ib.* 97.
Callisthenes one of Lucullus' freedmen, gives him a potion which affects his brain, iii. 390.
————, the philosopher, endeavours to console Alexander, when he had killed Clitus, iv. 320. His sarcasm on Anaxarchus, 321. His character, *ib.* His oration in praise of the Macedonians, 322, and another in their dispraise, *ib.* Aristotle's observation on him, 320, *n.* 323. Nephew to Aristotle, 324. Refuses to worship Alexander, 323. What he was accused of saying to Hermolaüs, 324. His death, 325.
————, one of the orators, whom Alexander demanded of the Athenians, v. 279.
————, the historian, iv. 115.
Callistratus, secretary to Mithridates, iii. 350.
————, the orator, v. 255, 266.
Callistus, the father of Nymphidius, vi. 219.
Calpurnii, from Calpus, the son of Numa, i. 204.
Calpurnia, daughter of Piso, and wife of Cæsar, iv. 372. Her dream, 431, 432. Puts herself under the protection of Antony, v. 439.
Calpurnius Bibulus. See *Bibulus.*
———— *Lenarius*, assassinates Julius Salinator, iv. 10.
———— *Piso.* See *Piso.*
Calpus, said to be the son of Numa, i. 204.
Calvinus, Domitius, iv. 214.
Calvisius, a retainer of Augustus, accuses Antony, v. 481.
———— *Sabinus*, a Roman general, vi. 221.
† *Calydon*, vi. 167.
Calydonian boar, killed by Meleager with the assistance of Theseus, i. 37.
† *Camarinæans*, vi. 26.
Cambyses, fifty thousand of his men buried in the sands of Africa, iv. 281.
Camels, when first said to be seen by the Romans, iii. 341.
† *Cameria*, taken by Romulus, i. 91.
Camerians admitted citizens of Rome by Marius, contrary to law, iii. 155.
Camillus, or *Casmillus*, a name given to the youth who serves in the temple of Jupiter, i. 177.
CAMILLUS never consul, because in his time military tribunes were appointed instead of consuls, i. 361. The first who raised the family of the Furii to distinction, 362. A great action of his in the wars with the Æqui and Volsci, *ib.* 363. Raised to the censorship, 363. Obliges the men who lived single to marry the

widows of those who fell in the wars, *ib.* Makes orphans, as well as others, contribute to the supplies, *ib.* A second time military tribune, 364. Defeats the Falisci and Capenates, while his collegues carry on the siege of Veii, *ib.* In the tenth year of the siege appointed dictator, 367. He takes Cornelius Scipio for his general of horse, *ib.* His vows, *ib.* He takes Veii by mining, 368. Weeps over the miseries of that great city, *ib.* His generous prayer, 369. Falls in turning after his prayer, *ib.* Removes the statue of Juno to Rome, *ib.* Leads up his triumph in a chariot, drawn by four white horses, which sort of carriage had been appropriated to the service of the gods, 370, 371. Opposes the removing of half the people of Rome to Veii, 371. His vow of the tenth of the spoils to Apollo, and absurd proceeding thereupon, *ib.* In these three last articles he highly offended the people, 372. The matrons contribute their golden ornaments, and a large vase is sent to Delphi, *ib.* Chosen a military tribune a third time, 373. Besieges Falerii, *ib.* The treachery of the school-master, and his chastisement, 374, 375. The Falerians, struck with the generous behaviour of Camillus, surrender their city, 375. He loses his son, 376. Is accused of fraud with respect to the Tuscan spoils, *ib.* Quits Rome, a voluntary exile, 377. Imprecates vengeance on the Romans, *ib.* Is fined fifteen thousand *ases*, *ib.* Tokens of the approaching calamities, *ib.* 378. Irruption of the Gauls into Italy, 380. Camillus, who had taken up his residence near Ardea, cuts in pieces a considerable corps of them near that place, 391, 392. The Romans in Veii desire Camillus to take the command of them, which he refuses till commissioned by the senate, 392. Declared dictator the second time, 393. Finds twenty thousand men in arms at Veii, and adds them to his army, 394. The Gauls climb the rock by the way, which one of the Romans had ascended, but are discovered by some geese kept near Juno's temple, and repulsed by Manlius, *ib.* 395. Provisions grow scarce in the Gaulish camp, and sickness prevails in it, 396. The besieged treat with Brennus, and offer him a thousand pounds weight of gold, 397. While that is weighing, Camillus comes to Rome, *ib.* His discourse with Brennus, *ib.* 398. They come to blows among the ruins, 398. Brennus marches in the night, and encamps on the road to Gabii, *ib.* Camillus attacks and defeats him, and makes himself master of his camp, *ib.* Enters Rome in triumph, 399. Restores the temples, and builds one to a new deity, Aius Loquutius, or 'the Speaker,' *ib.* Prepares to rebuild the city, but the people hanker after Veii, *ib.* The city is rebuilt in the compass of a year, but in an irregular manner, 402. The Lituus, or 'augural staff' of Romulus, is found under the rubbish, *ib.* The Romans are attacked by several of the neighbouring states—the military tribunes surrounded on mount Marcius by the Latins, 403. The senate appoints him dictator the third time, Camillus burns the enemy's works, and gives them an entire defeat, 405. Finds the city of Sutrium taken, and retakes it the same day, 406. Triumphs for these

great actions, 407. Envied by Manlius Capitolinus, who courting the populace, endeavours to raise himself to absolute power, *ib.* Manlius is condemned and executed, 408. Camillus with difficulty prevailed upon to accept the military tribuneship the sixth time, 409. Marches against the Prænestines and the Volscians, *ib.* Succours his collegues, who had rashly ventured upon an action, and routs the enemy the day following, 410. Retakes Satricum, a Roman colony, and puts the Tuscans he found there to the sword, *ib.* How he dealt with the people of Tusculum, 411, 412. A sedition prevails in Rome; the people insisting that one of the consuls should be a plebeian, 412. Is appointed dictator the fourth time, but soon resigns that office under pretence of sickness, 413. Another dictator, and an Agrarian law, 414. The Gauls march again toward Rome, and Camillus being appointed dictator the fifth time, defeats them near the river Anio, though now very old, *ib.* 415, 416. Reconciles the senate and people, by allowing one of the consuls to be chosen out of the plebeians, 417. Builds a temple to Concord, 418. Dies of the plague, extremely regretted, *ib.*

† *Campania*, v. 82.

Campanians, vi. 27.

Campus Martius had been most of it the property of the Tarquins, i. 280.

Camulatus, a soldier, goes over from Brutus to Augustus, vi. 103.

Camurius, vi. 239.

Canathrum, a Lacedæmonian chariot, described, iv. 94.

Candidates, loosely clad, that they might more easily show the wounds they had received, ii. 190. An agreement made amongst them to prevent bribery, *ib.*

Canes, javelins made of Cretan canes, iii. 224.

Canethus, Sciron his son by Henioche the daughter of Pittheus, i. 32.

Canidius, tribune of the people, proposes to send Pompey embassador to Ptolemy, iv. 188.

———, or *Caninius*, employed in Cyprus, v. 85, 86. vi. 59.

———, Antony's lieutenant, bribed by Cleopatra to persuade Antony to a thing that proves his ruin, v. 479. Advises Antony to fight at the head of his land-forces, and not of the fleet, 486. Quits his camp after Antony's flight, 491. Brings Antony word that his army is dispersed, 494.

Caninius Rebilius, consul for part of a day, iv. 424.

† *Canopus*, v. 193, 453.

† *Cannæ*, ii. 86.

Cannicius, (Caius) and Castus revolt from Spartacus, iii. 462.

Cantharus, v. 34.

Canuleia, a vestal virgin, consecrated by Numa, i. 184.

Canus, a musician, Galba's present to him, vi. 225, 226.

† *Canusium*, ii. 399, 429.

Canutius, a celebrated actor, vi. 76.

Capaneus, ii. 343.

† *Capenates*, conquered by Camillus, i. 364, 368.
Caphesias, a friend of Aratus', vi. 158.
Caphis, sent by Sylla to seize the treasures of Delphi, iii. 247. Conducts Hortensius with his reinforcement, 252.
† *Caphyæ*, vi. 202.
Capito. See *Fonteius*.
Capitol, taken by the Sabines, i. 76. Besieged by the Gauls, 390. Manlius' judges could not condemn him while they had that in sight, 408.
Capitolinus, Q. Catulus, vi. 213.
———, T. Quintius, i. 407.
† *Cappadocia*, iii. 246. iv. 41, 266.
† *Cappadocians*, their goddess, iii. 243.
Caprarii, i. 287.
Captives, sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes. See *Bacchus*.
† *Capua* surrenders to Annibal, ii. 90.
Carabus. See *Callimedon*.
Caranus, Alexander descended from him, iv. 239.
Carbo defeated by the Teutones and Ambrones, iii. 139.
—— flies into Africa, iii. 272. On the death of Cinna he usurps the government, and commits great outrages, iv. 131. Put to death by Pompey, 135.
† *Cardia*, iv. 38.
† *Caria*, i. 10. ii. 166. iv. 79.
Carian soldier kills Cyrus; but, as Artaxerxes claimed that honour to himself, the soldier suffers for his unadvised ambition, vi. 126, 130.
† *Carians*, by the Persians called 'Cocks,' vi. 125.
Carinna, one of Carbo's officers, iv. 132.
† *Carmania*, iv. 340.
Carmenta, the goddess, i. 85.
Carmentalia, feast of, i. 85.
Carmental Gate, i. 393.
Carneades, founder of the New Academy, iii. 388. v. 296. Sent embassador by the Athenians to Rome, ii. 524. Much admired there for his eloquence, *ib*.
Carneus, a Syracusan month, called by the Athenians 'Metagitnion,' iii. 442.
† *Carnutes*, a warlike people among the Gauls, iv. 389. Vercingetorix their general, defeated by Cæsar, 391.
† *Carræ*, iii. 490.
† *Carthage* colonized by Cæsar, iv. 423. Called Junonia by Caius Gracchus, when he rebuilt it, v. 234.
† ———, New, iv. 10.
Carthaginians appear before Sicily with a numerous fleet, ii. 233. Join Icetes against Timoleon, 239. Send twenty gallies to Rhegium to oppose Timoleon's passage to Sicily, 241. He disappoints them by his superior policy, 243. They send a great army into Sicily under Asdrubal and Hamilcar, 261. Pass the river Crimesus, 263. Defeated by Timoleon, 265. Enter into

league with Mamercus and Icetes, 266. Send Gisco with another army into Sicily, in which, for the first time, they employ Greek mercenaries, *ib.* Make peace with Timoleon, 270.
Carvilius, Spurius, the first Roman, who divorced his wife, i. 107, 214.
Caryatides, their dance, vi. 133.
† *Carystus*, a city of Eubœa, vi. 78.
Casca, Publius, the first who gave Cæsar a blow in the senate-house, iv. 434. vi. 100.
† *Casilinum*, ii. 73.
† *Casinum*, ii. 73.
† *Caspian* sea, it's water sweet, iv. 309.
Cassandra, daughter of Priam, v. 142.
Cassander takes care of the education of Philopœmen, iii. 2.
———, the enemy of Æacides, demands Pyrrhus, when an infant, from Glaucias, iii. 68.
———, son of Antipater, laughs at the barbarians who adore Alexander, iv. 349. Causes Demades to be put to death for calling his father Antipater 'an old rotten stalk,' and despatches his son at the same time, v. 290. His army defeated by Demetrius, 385.
† *Cassandria*, v. 411.
Cassius Sabaco, a friend to Marius, expelled the senate, iii. 124.
———, defeated by Spartacus, iii. 459.
———, quæstor to Crassus, advises his general to keep to the heights beyond the Euphrates, iii. 475. Expostulates with the traitor Ariamnes, 478. Marries Junia, the sister of Brutus, vi. 63. His enmity to Cæsar, *ib.* His conversation with Brutus, 65, 66. Addresses the statue of Pompey (though of Epicurean principles) before he gave Cæsar the blow, 71. Africa allotted as his province, 74. Delivers a third part of his treasure to Brutus, 84. Behaves cruelly at Rhodes, *ib.* Discourses with Brutus upon apparitions, 90. An unlucky omen happens to him, 92. Gives his opinion against a battle, 93. His discourse with Messala, 94. And with Brutus, *ib.* The wing which he commanded routed, and his camp plundered, 96. A mistake in reconnoitering makes him resolve upon death, 98. The manner of his death, *ib.* iv. 438.
——— *Scæva*, his valour, iv. 375.
———, Quintus, v. 431.
Castor and *Pollux* make war upon Athens for their sister Helen, whom Theseus had carried off, i. 39, 40, 41. Received into Athens, and adopted by Aphidnus, in order to their being initiated in the Mysteries of Ceres, 42. Appear in the battle by the lake Regillus, and immediately after are seen at Rome giving notice of the victory, ii. 177, 314. Their temple in Samothracia, 312. At Rome, iii. 242. iv. 128. Thought to assist Lysander, in a sea-fight, iii. 200. Stars of gold dedicated to them by Lysander, 209. Their different pursuits, v. 200.
† *Castulo*, a city of the Celtiberians, iv. 5.
Castus, one of the officers of Spartacus, iii. 462.

Catabates, Demetrius so entitled by the Athenians in one of their acts of worship, v. 373.

† *Catana*, a city in Sicily, ii. 140, 246. vi. 53.

Catiline, Lucius, murthers his own brother, and persuades Sylla to put him among the proscribed, v. 305. iii. 278. Attempts to subvert the government, and is near executing it, v. 71. Account of his conspiracy, *ib.* His accomplices, *ib.* His character, 305. Stands for the consulship, and loses it, *ib.* His resolution to kill Cicero, 308. His insolent saying in the senate, 309. Fails in his application for the consulship again, *ib.* Is commanded to quit Rome, and assembles an army, 311. Debates in the senate concerning the manner in which his accomplices should be punished, 71, 72, 316, 317. He and his army destroyed by Caius Antonius, 319.

Cato, the Censor, said to be born at Tusculum, ii. 492. Lives in his youth on a paternal estate near the country of the Sabines, *ib.* His third name originally Priscus, *ib.* Why changed to Cato, *ib.* His hair red, and eyes grey, 493. Healthy and strong, as he was inured to labour and temperance, *ib.* His esteem of eloquence, *ib.* Pleads causes in the villages and boroughs, without fee or reward, *ib.* Military glory still a greater object with him, *ib.* Makes his first campaign at the age of seventeen, when Annibal was at the height of his prosperity in Italy, *ib.* His behaviour in battle, *ib.* Marches on foot, and carries his own arms, *ib.* 494. Never angry with his servant for the manner of dressing his victuals, 494. Water his common drink, *ib.* In this respect he followed the example of Manius Curius, *ib.* Serves under Fabius Maximus at the siege of Tarentum, and forms a connexion there with Nearchus the Pythagorean, 495. Learns Greek at a late period, *ib.* Valerius Flaccus, who had a country-house in his neighbourhood, takes him into his protection, and advises him to go to Rome, *ib.* 496. His pleadings, and the interest of Valerius, procure him friends there, 496. He is appointed a legionary tribune, and afterward quæstor, *ib.* The collegue of Valerius both in the consulate and censorship, *ib.* Takes Fabius Maximus for his model, *ib.* When quæstor to Scipio in the African expedition, comes home to accuse him of lavishing the public money, *ib.* 497. Called 'the Roman Demosthenes,' 497. The Romans comparatively corrupt in his time, 498. His extreme temperance and frugality, 499. Plutarch's reflexions on his selling his old slaves, 499. When governor of Sardinia, he puts the people of that country to no manner of charge, 500, 501. Inexorable in whatever relates to public justice, 501. The nature of his stile, *ib.* His remarkable sayings, 502—505. Sent into the Hither Spain, 505. Hires troops of the Celtiberians, 506. Gains a great battle, 506. Gets the walls of four hundred towns rased in one day, *ib.* Gives every soldier a pound weight of silver, over and above his booty, *ib.* Keeps not only himself, but all his dependents, from extortion, 507. Scipio gets himself ap-

pointed his successor, near the conclusion of the war; a measure which reflects dishonour on himself rather than on Cato, 507, 508. Cato is honoured with a triumph, 508. He is equally industrious in the public service afterward, *ib.* Goes a volunteer with Tiberius Sempronius into Thrace, and with Acilius Glabrio into Greece, *ib.* Several Grecian cities revolt, but Cato retains Corinth, Patræ, and Ægium, in their duty, 509. The purport of his speech to the Athenians, *ib.* Antiochus thinks himself secure in defending the pass of Thermopylæ, but Cato takes a circuit, and falls upon his rear, *ib.* 510. Cato carries the first news of the victory to Rome, 512. Considers it as a great political duty to prosecute offenders, *ib.* Impeaches Scipio Africanus and his brother Lucius, *ib.* 513. Often impeached himself, and once when he was very old, 513. What he said thereupon, *ib.* Is candidate for the censorship, 514. Chosen, notwithstanding his declarations that he will be a severe censor, 515. Valerius Flaccus is appointed his collegue, at his request, *ib.* He enrols Valerius Flaccus chief of the senate, *ib.* Expels Lucius Quintius, *ib.* and Manilius, 517. Degrades Lucius the brother of Scipio, *ib.* What he did with respect to articles of luxury, *ib.* He demolishes the buildings that jutted out into the street, 518. Is fined two talents, *ib.* Censured for building the Porcian hall at the public charge, *ib.* The people erect his statue in the temple of Health, *ib.* The inscription on that statue, 519. What he had said before concerning statues, *ib.* Of all men the most forward to commend himself, *ib.* Chooses a wife rather for family than fortune, 520. Prefers the character of a good husband to that of a great senator, *ib.* Takes upon himself the education of his son, *ib.* His son's constitution and qualities, 521. That son marries Tertia, the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, 522. Cato's management of his slaves, *ib. et seq.* Turns his thoughts from agriculture to more certain dependencies, 523. Practises usury upon ships in the most blameable manner, *ib.* Lends money to his slaves, *ib.* In what manner repaid, *ib.* The extravagant praise he gave to economy, *ib.* Displeased at the influence, which the eloquence of Carneades had on the Roman youth, 524, *et seq.* His unjust reflexion on Socrates, 525. His prediction, *ib.* 526. An enemy to the Grecian physicians, 526. A quack himself, *ib.* Marries a young wife in his old age, 527. Has a son by that wife, to whom he gives the surname of Salonius, 528. Bears the death of his son with the moderation of a philosopher, *ib.* Writes histories and books on country affairs, 529. Keeps a better table in the country than in town, *ib.* His conversation, what, *ib.* Goes embassador to Carthage, 529, 530. Causes the third Punic War, 531. Dies in the beginning of it, *ib.* A verse of Homer's, which he applied to Scipio, afterward the second Africanus, 532.

Cato, Marcus, son of Cato the Censor, loses his sword in battle, ii. 309, 521. What he does to recover it, *ib.* Marries the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, 522.

Cato, the grandfather of Cato the Censor, had five horses killed under him in battle, ii. 492.

—-- *Salonius*, ii. 528, 532.

Cato of Utica, great grandson of Cato the Censor, v. 48. Left an orphan, together with his brother Cæpio and his sister Porcia, *ib.* Brought up in the house of Livius Drusus, his mother's brother, *ib.* Had great firmness and solidity when a child, *ib.* Extraordinary instances of his intrepidity, and love of justice, in that period, 50. He asks his preceptor for a sword to kill Sylla, 51. His answer to those who asked him, 'whom he loved most,' 52. His affection for his brother Cæpio very great, *ib.* He takes upon him the priesthood of Apollo, *ib.* Forms a connexion with Antipater of Tyre, for the sake of studying the Stoic philosophy, *ib.* Cultivates the eloquence, which was fit for popular assemblies, *ib.* 53. The first occasion of his speaking in public, 53. The nature of his eloquence described, *ib.* He strengthens his constitution by exercise, *ib.* Travels always on foot, *ib.* Is remarkably patient and abstemious in sickness, 54. Drinks, at first, only one glass after his meals, but in time loves to sit over a bottle, for the sake of philosophical conversation, *ib.* Very inattentive to his dress, even when he appeared in public, *ib.* Lends his money to his friends without interest, 55. Knows no woman before his marriage, *ib.* Pays his first addresses to Lepida, and is disappointed, *ib.* Writes iambics against his rival, whose proceedings were unfair, *ib.* Marries Attilia, the daughter of Soranus, *ib.* Serves as a volunteer under Gellius, in the war with Spartacus, *ib.* A law being made against the use of nomenclators, he commits the names of the citizens to memory, 56. Goes with a tribune's commission under Rubrius into Macedonia, *ib.* Rubrius gives him the command of a legion, which he forms in the most excellent manner to military virtue, 57. He goes to Pergamus, and prevails upon Athenodorus the stoic, to return with him, 58. His brother Cæpio dies at Ænus in Thrace, *ib.* On this occasion he shows rather the sensibility of a brother, than the fortitude of a philosopher, *ib.* Is left coheir with Cæpio's daughter, 59. Cæsar's calumny against him, *ib.* Great expressions of affection from his troops at his departure, *ib.* He visits Asia, and Deïotarus invites him to his court, *ib.* His manner of travelling, and care not to be troublesome, 60. Meets with a pleasant adventure, on entering Antioch, *ib.* Pompey gives him an honourable reception at Ephesus, 61. What Curio said to Cato, with respect to his travelling, 62. Deïotarus strongly importunes him to receive his presents, and he makes a very short stay at his court, on account of that importunity, *ib.* He sails from Brundusium to Rome in the ship that carried Cæpio's remains, and has a bad passage, 63. When quæstor, he makes a great reformation in that department, *ib.* Calls the assassins, employed by Sylla, to account, 65. Prevents his collegue Marcellus from making an unjust grant, 66. Always attends the meetings of the senate, 67. Watches over the conduct of Pompey, *ib.* Opposes the perni-

cious practices of Clodius, *ib.* His veracity becomes proverbial, 68. Not inclined to offer himself for tribune of the people, but puts a force upon himself, when he finds that Metellus Nepos stands for that office, *ib.* 69. Being appointed tribune, he gives the people a severe charge with respect to corruption in the consular elections, 69. Prosecutes Muræna for offending in that way, 70. Muræna, notwithstanding, consults him during his consulship, 71. Cato supports the supreme magistrate by many excellent measures during the turbulent times of Catiline, *ib.* He prevails with the senate to decree that the conspirators should be capitally punished, 72. A billet is brought to Cæsar in the senate-house, and Cato insists on having it read publicly, *ib.* 73. The billet is from Cato's sister Servilia, 73. Unfortunate among the women, *ib.* The conduct of his own wife Attilia not unexceptionable, *ib.* He divorces her, *ib.* Marries Martia, the daughter of Philip, *ib.* Hortensius desires to have her, and Cato gives her up to him, 74. He persuades the senate to grant the people a free gift of corn, in order to counterwork the popularity of Cæsar, *ib.* The ill policy of that proceeding, 75, *n.* Metellus proposes an edict to call Pompey and his troops into Italy, intending to give up the state into his hands, 75. Cato opposes him at the hazard of his life, and succeeds, *ib.*—78. Prevents the senate from voting Metellus 'infamous,' 78. Procures Lucullus his triumph, which Memmius had attempted to deprive him of, *ib.* Prevents the senate from granting Pompey's requisition to defer the election of consuls till his arrival, *ib.* Pompey demands two of Cato's nieces in marriage, the elder for himself, and the younger for his son; and Cato refuses him, 79. Pompey is soon afterward guilty of open bribery, *ib.* What Cato said to the women upon it, *ib.* Cato's bad policy, in rejecting the alliance of Pompey, throws him into the arms of Cæsar, *ib.* Cato supports Lucullus against Pompey, 80. Opposes the Agrarian law proposed by Pompey and Cæsar, *ib.* 81. They carry it against him by violence, 81. The senate is commanded to swear to the observance of the law, *ib.* Cato is prevailed upon by Cicero to take the oath, *ib.* He opposes Cæsar with respect to the distribution of lands in Campania, and Cæsar leads him to prison, 82. Cæsar perceives the bad policy of that measure, and engages one of the tribunes to rescue him, *ib.* The people vote Cæsar the provinces of Illyricum and the Gauls, for five years; upon which Cato tells them, 'they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome,' *ib.* Cato is sent to Cyprus, that Clodius might be able to banish Cicero, 83. Cato, before his departure, exhorts Cicero to yield to the necessity of the times, *ib.* Brings Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, to submit by negotiation, 84. Ptolemy king of Egypt, who was on his way to Rome to solicit his re-establishment in that kingdom, waits on Cato at Rhodes, *ib.* The good advice which Cato gave him, *ib.* 85. Ptolemy of Cyprus poisons himself, 85. Cato restores the Byzantine exiles, and reconciles them to their fellow-citizens, *ib.* Offends Munatius by his minute attention to the sale of Ptolemy's goods, *ib.* Mu-

natius is reconciled to him through the mediation of Marcia, 87. Cato brings near seven thousand talents of silver to Rome, *ib.* His honourable reception there; and great privileges decreed him, which he declines, *ib.* 88. Cicero, on his return from banishment, pulls down the tribunitial acts of Clodius, 88. Cato defends them, *ib.* 89. This occasions a coldness between Cicero and Cato, but they are subsequently reconciled, 89. Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, erect themselves into a triumvirate, and as it were, divide the empire among them; upon which Cato advises his brother-in-law Lucius Domitius to oppose them with respect to the consulship, *ib.* Pompey and Crassus drive Domitius out of the Campus Martius by violence, and they are elected consuls, 90. Cato is wounded in the fray, *ib.* Cato stands for the prætorship, but Pompey defeats him by very unfair means, *ib.* 91. Cato, in a speech to the people, predicts all the evils which afterward befel the commonwealth, 91. He prevents the people from pulling down Pompey's statues, 92. Tells Pompey, that he was raising Cæsar to the ruin of himself and the commonwealth too, *ib.* Is elected prætor, but disgraces that office by the meanness of his dress, *ib.* Moves for a law, that every candidate should declare upon oath that he had not been guilty of bribery, 93. Clodius accuses Cato of embezzling a quantity of the Cyprian treasure, 94. Marcus Favonius, a friend of Cato's, elected ædile through his assistance, 95. Cato conducts the public entertainments for Favonius with remarkable parsimony, *ib.* 96. Scipio, Hypsæus, and Milo, being candidates for the consulate, and nothing but violence and anarchy prevailing, Cato supports Bibulus' motion, that Pompey should be declared sole consul, *ib.* 97. Reproves Pompey for some partial proceedings, 97. Cato, jealous of the progress which Cæsar was making toward supreme power, stands for the consulship, 98. Loses his election by his zeal against bribery, 99. Opposes a thanksgiving for Cæsar's victories in Germany, *ib.* A proposal being made in the senate to appoint a successor to Cæsar, and Cæsar's friends opposing it, except on certain conditions, Cato declares that Cæsar had now thrown off the mask, 100. On Cæsar's taking Ariminum, Cato advises the senate to put every thing into the hands of Pompey, *ib.* 101. Sends his younger son to Munatius in the country of the Brutii, 101. Takes Marcia again, on the death of Hortensius, *ib.* Follows Pompey, 102. Is appointed to the government of Sicily, but finds the island already seized by the adverse party, *ib.* Goes to Pompey at Dyrrachium, *ib.* Advises to procrastinate the war, and that no Roman should be killed, except in the field of battle, 102. Passes into Asia, for the purpose of raising men and ships, *ib.* Pompey, jealous of Cato's love of liberty, gives the command of the fleet to Bibulus, 103. Pompey's address to the army little regarded in comparison of that of Cato, *ib.* Pompey, after his success at Dyrrachium, leaves his magazines there, together with fifteen cohorts, under the command of Cato, 104. After

the overthrow at Pharsalia, Cato proceeds to Corcyra, and takes the command of the fleet, *ib.* 105. Pompey the Younger would have killed Cicero, but Cato saves him, 104. He is informed, on the African coast, of the death of Pompey, 105. His march through the deserts of Libya, to join Scipio, *ib.* 106. Corrects the pride of Juba, 106, 107. Refuses to take the command of the army upon him, 107. But repents of it afterward, 108. Saves the Uticans from being put to the sword, 107. Fortifies Utica, and fills it with provisions, *ib.* Advises Scipio to proceed slowly in the war, but is not attended to, 108. Scipio is defeated, and ruined in the battle of Thapsus, *ib.* 109. Cato's speech to the three hundred, 109, 110. They give up the thoughts of standing a siege, 112. What passed between Cato and a body of cavalry, *ib.* 113. Circumstances previous to the death of Cato, 116. Circumstances of his death, 119—121.

Cato, Marcus, son of Cato of Utica, v. 122. His intrigue with the wife of a Cappadocian prince, *ib.* Falls gloriously in battle, 467, *ib.*

Cattle, the wealth of the primitive times, i. 287.

Catulus, Lutatius, consul with Marius, iii. 137. Guards the country of the Norici, 138. Quits the passes of the Alps, 148. Puts himself at the head of his flying forces, that they might seem to be only retreating, 149. Fights a battle in conjunction with Marius, and the victory is chiefly owing to Catulus, 152, 153. Vows a temple to 'the Fortune of that Day,' 152. His name cut on the weapons of his men, 154. Gives Sylla occasion to distingush himself to the great vexation of Marius, 234. Catulus, censor with Crassus, 165. Opposes Crassus' attempt to make Egypt tributary, *ib.* Accuses Cæsar to the senate for having set up Marius' images in the Capitol, iv. 363. Is Cæsar's competitor for the pontificate, and offers him money to decline, 364. His excellent character, v. 64. Catulus consul with Lepidus, iv. 142. His address to the people concerning Pompey, 156. Endeavours to save an obnoxious secretary in the quæstor's office, v. 64. Blames Cicero for suffering Cæsar to escape in Catiline's conspiracy, iv. 364. Suffocated himself by the steam of a coal fire, iii. 178.

†*Caucasus*, Mount, iv. 170.

†*Caulonia*, ii. 97. v. 382.

†*Caunians*, v. 492.

†*Caunus*, iii. 444. v. 384, 417.

Cebalinus offers to discover a conspiracy to Alexander, iv. 305. *n.*

Cecina, one of Vitellius' generals, vi. 248. His gigantic size, and foreign dress, 250.

Cecrops, first sovereign of Athens, built the Citadel, i. 29, *n.*

Ceditius, Marcus, informed by a supernatural voice of the approach of the Gauls, i. 378.

Celer, one of the friends of Romulus, said to be the person that killed Remus, i. 63.

——, Metellus, why so called, i. 64.

†*Celænæ*, in upper Phrygia, iv. 49. v. 368.
Celeres, light troops which Romulus used as a life-guard, i. 93. Dismissed by Numa, 176.
Celibacy, argument against it, i. 225, 226.
Celsus, Marius, a friend of Galba's, vi. 237. Saved by Otho, 240. Their first interview after Otho's accession, 243.
† *Celtæ*, made themselves masters of the best part of Italy, iii. 132. The limits of their country, *ib*. 133.
†*Celtiberians*, iii. 122. iv. 5. Demand two hundred talents of Cato for their assistance in his wars, and he agrees to the demand, ii. 506.
†*Celto-Scythæ*, the nations which bore that name, iii. 133.
† *Celtonians* and Senones, i. 378.
† *Cenchreæ*, v. 385.
†*Ceninensians*, beaten by Romulus, i. 74.
Censor, office of, i. 363, *n*. ii. 514, one dying in his office, an inauspicious circumstance, i. 378, *n*. None to bear that office twice, ii. 174. The respect the censors paid to Pompey, iv. 151.
Censorinus of the family of the Marcii, ii. 174. Accuses Sylla of extortion in Cappadocia, but does not bring him to his trial, iii. 236.
———, a companion of young Crassus, iii. 483. Orders his armour-bearer to kill him, 485.
Centaurs, their battle with the Lapithæ, i. 37, 38. Their original, v. 132.
Centuries, in Rome, ii. 199, *n*.
† *Ceos*, i. 318. ii. 271.
Cephalus, sent from Corinth to assist Timoleon in compiling a body of laws for the Syracusans, ii. 260.
Cephalon, a friend of Aratus', vi. 207.
Cephisodorus, one of Pelopidas' assistants in delivering Thebes, falls in the attack upon Leontidas, ii. 354.
Cephisodotus, the statuary, Phocion marries his sister, v. 23.
†*Cephisus*, river, i. 12. iv. 251. Sylla turns it's course, iii. 254.
Ceramicus, part of Athens so called, iii. 250. v. 41. The signification of the word, iii. 207, *n*.
Ceratonian altar. See *Keraton*.
†*Ceraunian* mountains, v. 35.
Cerdunus. See *Ptolemy*.
Cerberus, the name of Aidoneus', or Pluto's dog, i. 40. iii. 398.
†*Cercina*, isle of, iii. 173. vi. 24.
Cercyon, the Arcadian, killed by Theseus in wrestling, i. 12, and the first who used art in that exercise, *ib*. *n*. Ravishes his daughter, 37.
Ceres, i. 88. The Spartans sacrificed to her on their leaving off mourning, 153. Her mysteries celebrated at Eleusis, ii. 163, 164. Her temple at Hermiona plundered by the pirates, iv. 153. Hercules initiated in her Mysteries, i. 39.
Cethegus flies with young Marius, iii. 172.
——— the tribune, his flagitious life, 333. An enemy to Lu-

cullus, *ib.* An accomplice in Catiline's conspiracy, v. 71, 310, 313. Put to death by order of the senate, 318.

† *Cermanum*, i. 53.

Chabrias the Athenian, goes to Egypt, and Tachos makes him his admiral, iv. 118. When general of the Athenians, Phocion serves under him, v. 8. His character, *ib.* 9. His great regard for Phocion, 9. Loses his life by his heat in attempting to land in the isle of Chios, 8.

Chæron, founder of Chæronea, iii. 256.

Chærondas, archon at Athens, v. 280.

† *Chæronea*, i. 36. The place of Plutarch's nativity, iii. 293, *n.* History of its inhabitants, *ib.* v. 491. Battles near it, iii. 246, 257. iv. 91, 92.

† *Chalæstra*, iv. 316.

Chalcaspides, ii. 305. iii. 254.

† *Chalcedon*, besieged by Alcibiades, ii. 158. By Mithridates, iii. 336.

† *Chalcidian*, foretells the greatness of Sylla, iii. 236.

Chalciœcos, the temple of Minerva at Sparta, i. 117, 118. v. 145.

† *Chalcis*, i. 35. iii. 23, 43, 51. v. 409.

Chalcodon, i. 34, 44.

† *Chaldæans*, iv. 347.

Chaldæan scheme, Octavius is killed with one in his bosom, iii. 175.

Chameleon never changes to white, ii. 146.

† *Chaonians*, iii. 107.

† *Characitani*, a people beyond the Tagus, subdued by a stratagem of Sertorius, iv. 22.

Chares, the Athenian general, Timotheus' observation on his showing his wounds, ii. 342. Sent to the assistance of the Byzantines, but does not maintain his character there, v. 17. Defeats the king of Persia's lieutenants, vi. 168.

———, the historian, iv. 270.

———, the orator, reflects on Phocion, v. 7. Phocion's answer, *ib.*

† ———, river, vi. 180.

Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, executes his scandalous commission for Harpalus, v. 26. Is summoned to answer for it, and Phocion refuses to defend him, *ib.*

Chariclo, wife of Sciron, i. 11.

Charidemus, takes Troy, iv. 2.

———, the orator, v. 19, 279.

Charilaus, king of Sparta, i. 113. Suspects Lycurgus of conspiring against him, and takes refuge in the Chalciœcos, 117.

Charimenes the diviner, a friend of Aratus', vi. 177, 178.

Chariots, when first used in triumphs, i. 76. Drawn by four white horses, appropriated to Jupiter, i. 370, 371. Camillus only presumes to ride in such a one, 370. Armed with scythes, iii. 257.

Charm. See *Amulet.*

Charmion, one of Cleopatra's women, v. 483. The defence she makes for her mistress, 506.
Charon lends his house to Pelopidas and the exiles, on their undertaking to deliver Thebes from it's tyrants, ii. 347, 348. On suspicion of a conspiracy, is cited to appear before Archias, 351. Behaves with such firmness that the tyrant dismisses his fears, 352.
Charonites, who so called, v. 439.
Charops, son of Machatas, prince of Epirus, a friend to the Romans, iii. 35.
† *Chelidonian* islands, iii. 310, 312.
Chelidonis, daughter of Leotychidas, and wife of Cleonymus, iii. 105. A criminal commerce between her and Acrotatus the son of Areus, in which the Spartans encouraged them, *ib.* 107.
Chelonis, daughter of Leonidas, and wife of Cleombrotus, a pattern of love and duty to her father and her husband, v. 149.
† *Chersonese* of Epirus, iii. 72. Of Thrace, colonised by Pericles, ii. 19, 32. Totally subdued by Cimon, iii. 313. Of Syria, v. 418.
Chickens, used by the Romans in augury, v. 217.
Child, born with an elephant's head. See *Prodigies*.
Children, the weakly destroyed at Sparta, i. 136. The rest how educated there, 137, *et seq.*
Chileus, the Arcadian, assists Themistocles in adjusting the differences between the Greeks during the Persian war, i. 320.
Chilo, one of Cato's slaves, a Grammarian, ii. 520.
† *Chios*, a city in the island of that name, furnishes Alcibiades with provender for his horses, ii. 127. Lucullus expels Mithridates' forces from Chios, iii. 329.
Chlidon, a messenger intended to be sent to Hipposthenidas to Pelopidas, but fortunately does not go, ii. 350.
Chœac, an Egyptian month, i. 66.
Chœrilus, a varnishing poet, retained by Lysander, iii. 210.
Cholargia, Pericles of that ward, ii. 5.
Chorus of music, sent annually to Delos by the Athenians, iii. 401, *n.*
Chreocopidæ, white-washed men at Athens, i. 239.
† *Chrysa*, i. 34.
Chrysantes, an officer in the army of Cyrus, ii. 440.
Chrysermus, his son Ptolemy killed by Cleomenes' party in Alexandria, v. 194.
Chrysippus, vi. 152.
Chrysis, a courtesan, one of Demetrius' mistresses, v. 386.
Chrysogonus, the musician, ii. 161.
———, one of Sylla's freedmen, v. 295.
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, his mother Helvia of a noble family and excellent character, v. 292. Various accounts of the family of his father, *ib.* Whence the name of Cicero, 293. What he said on his friends advising him to change his name, *ib.* Instead of his third name, engraves a vetch upon a vase which he dedicated when quæstor in Sicily, *ib.* Of distinguished reputation

among his school-fellows, 294. His poetry, *ib.* Attends the lectures of Philo the Academician, and studies law under Mucius Scævola, 295. Gets a taste of military knowledge under Sylla in the Marsian war, *ib.* Withdraws to a philosophic life, on account of the disorders of the state, *ib.* Defends Roscius when accused, by Sylla's order, of the murther of his father, *ib.* In fear of Sylla's resentment, retires to Greece, under pretence of doing it for his health, 296. His habit of body slender, and his voice harsh, *ib.* Attends the lectures of Antiochus at Athens, and admires his elocution, *ib.* Loves the New Academy, *ib.* Receives the news of Sylla's death, *ib.* His health and manner of speaking greatly improved, *ib.* His friends at Rome solicit his return; but he first sails to Asia, and attends the philosophers and rhetoricians there, 297. How Apollonius Molo was affected at Rhodes, on Cicero's declaiming in Greek, *ib.* Cicero consults the oracle at Delphi, which bids him 'follow nature, and not the opinion of the multitude,' *ib.* 298. This makes him cautious of any attempts toward popularity, *ib.* At last he betakes himself to the bar, and is immediately distinguished above all the orators in Rome, *ib.* Finds advantage, in point of action, from the instructions of Roscius and Æsop, *ib.* What he said of bawling orators, *ib.* His free use of his talent at repartee gets him the character of a malevolent man, 299. When quæstor in Sicily, supplies Rome with corn, *ib.* Notwithstanding this burthen, his justice and moderation recommend him to the Sicilians, *ib.* From an adventure on his return perceives the slow progress of fame, *ib.* Acquaints himself with the names and connexions of the Romans, 300. Will take no fee or reward for his services at the bar, *ib.* In what manner he gained the Sicilians their cause against Verres, *ib.* His answer to Hortensius, when he said, 'he could not solve riddles,' 301. The presents the Sicilians made him, when Ædile, *ib.* His country-seats, 302. The fortune his wife Terentia brought him, *ib.* Has a number of men of letters about him, *ib.* Very abstemious in his diet, and attentive to exercise, *ib.* Gives up his town-house to his brother, and takes up his residence on the Palatine hill, *ib.* Has a levee as great as Crassus or Pompey, *ib.* Returned first, when candidate for the prætorship, *ib.* Condemns Licinius Macer, *ib.* His behaviour to Vatinius, 203. And to Manilius, *ib.* 304. Out of fear of Catiline and his associates, the patricians join the plebeians, in raising Cicero to the consulship, 305. The detestable character and designs of Catiline, 306. Catiline solicits the consulship, and loses it; Cicero and Caius Antonius being appointed to that office, *ib.* The tribunes of the people propose to set up a decemvirate, but Cicero quashes the bill, *ib.* 307. Instance of the force of his eloquence, in bringing the people to relish a theatrical regulation in favour of the equestrian order, 307, 308. Catiline hastens his enterprise before the return of Pompey, 308. Privately engages Sylla's veterans, at the head of whom was Manlius, *ib.* Cicero brings a charge against him in the senate, but has not sufficient proofs, *ib.* Catiline offers

himself again for the consulship, but loses it through the vigilance and interest of Cicero, 309. Crassus, Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, come to Cicero's house at midnight, and bring a packet of letters which give light into the intended massacre, *ib.* 310. Cicero assembles the senate, and produces the packet, 310. Q. Arrius informs the senate of the designs of Sylla's veterans, *ib.* The consuls are impowered to act in the manner they think best for the preservation of the commonwealth, *ib.* Cicero takes the care of the city upon himself, *ib.* Catiline sends Marcius and Cethegus to assassinate him; but he is apprised of his danger by Fulvia, *ib.* 311. Cicero assembles the senate, and Catiline appears, and attempts to speak, but is prevented, 311. Cicero commands him to quit Rome; and he marches out with ensigns of authority, and soon assembles an army of twenty thousand men, *ib.* Antony, Cicero's collegue, is sent against him, *ib.* Lentulus heads the conspirators in Rome, *ib.* The conspirators takes the embassadors of the Allobroges into the plot, and charge them with letters to their nation and to Catiline, 313. They send one Titus of Crotona with the embassadors, *ib.* Cicero, by his great vigilance and address, discovers this affair, *ib.* 314. Lays an ambush for the Crotonian, and seizes him; the embassadors privately assisting the state, 314. Cicero assembles the senate, and lays the letters before it, *ib.* Other informations, *ib.* Lentulus puts off his prætorian robe in the house, and with his accomplices is taken into custody, *ib.* Cicero gives the people an account of the proceedings of the day, *ib.* Spends the night following in considering, what punishment he should inflict on the criminals, 315. Opinions of different senators thereupon, 316, 317. The senate decree for capital punishment, 317. Cicero leads the convicts severally though the Forum to prison, where they are executed, 318. The people call him the preserver and second Founder of Rome, *ib.* Catiline gives Caius Antonius battle, and is destroyed with his whole army, 319. Cæsar, now prætor, and two of the tribunes, prevent Cicero from addressing the people, and allow him only to take the oath on laying down his office, *ib.* 320. He takes it in a form of his own, 320. The attempts against him defeated by Cato, *ib.* He gains the glorious title of 'Father of his Country,' *ib.* His vanity disgusting: yet not unwilling that others should have their share of honour, 321. His testimonies to the merit of Aristotle, Plato, and Demosthenes, *ib.* Favours he did Cratippus, *ib.* His son studies under that philosopher, 322. Gorgias accused of accustoming young Cicero to a life of pleasure and intemperance, *ib.* Cicero's superior keenness of expression leads him into violations of decorum, *ib.* Instances of that keenness, *ib.* 323. Clodius becomes Cicero's enemy for giving evidence against his plea of an *alibi*, at the time when he entered Cæsar's house in disguise, 326, 327. Clodius is elected tribune of the people, and attacks Cicero, 329. How the triumvirate then stood affected toward Cicero, *ib.* Cicero applies to Cæsar for a lieutenancy under him in Gaul, but relinquishes

it after it was granted, *ib.* 330. This offends Cæsar, 330. Clodius summons him to answer for putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, *ib.* Cicero puts on mourning, and twenty thousand young men of the best families supplicate the people with him, *ib.* He applies to Pompey, who ungratefully deserts him, 331. Dedicates a statue of Minerva in the Capitol, *ib.* 332. Flies from Rome at midnight, 332. Is treated in general with great kindness, notwithstanding his banishment and interdiction from fire and water by Clodius, *ib.* What happened on his sailing from Brundusium to Dyrrachium, *ib.* He bears his exile in a manner unbecoming a philosopher, 333. Clodius burns his villas; and on the place where his house stood in Rome, erects a temple to Liberty, *ib.* And affronts Pompey, who now repents of his having suffered Cicero to be banished, *ib.* The senate resolves to despatch no public business, till Cicero is recalled, *ib.* A great tumult ensues, in which Quintus, the brother of Cicero, is left for dead, *ib.* 334. Milo summons Clodius to answer for his violation of the public peace, 334. Pompey drives Clodius out of the Forum, and the people vote for Cicero's return with great unanimity, *ib.* The senate vies with the commons in zeal for Cicero, *ib.* The cities, through which he passes, do the same, *ib.* He returns sixteen months after his banishment, *ib.* Erases Clodius' acts from the tribunitial tables, and endeavours to annul them, but is prevented by Cato, *ib.* 335. Milo kills Clodius; and being arraigned for the fact, chooses Cicero for his advocate, 335. Cicero, though so able an orator, had a timidity in speaking, *ib.* Milo loses his cause, 336. Cicero is appointed one of the augurs, *ib.* Is sent proconsul into Cilicia, where he behaves with great integrity, prudence, and moderation, *ib.* 337. Brings the Cappadocians to submit to Ariobarzanes without bloodshed, 336. Routs the robbers who had possessed themselves of mount Amanus, and is saluted 'Imperator' by the army, 337. His answer to the ædile Cœlius, who applied to him for panthers, *ib.* Visits Rhodes and Athens in his return, 338. Finds the flame of civil war ready to break out at Rome, *ib.* His saying on the senate's decreeing him a triumph, *ib.* In great doubt and perplexity, as to the party he should take, *ib.* Cæsar would have been satisfied with his standing neuter, but at last he joins Pompey, 339. Cato blames him for not remaining at Rome, *ib.* He repents of the step he had taken, *ib.* Disparages Pompey's preparations, counsels, and allies, *ib.* Some strokes of wit and repartee, in which he indulged himself in the camp, 340. After the battle of Pharsalia was lost, Cato desires Cicero, as a person of consular dignity, to take the command of the fleet; and on his refusal, young Pompey threatens to kill him, *ib.* 341. He waits at Brundusium for Cæsar's return from Egypt, 341. Is treated by the conqueror with great humanity and regard, *ib.* The compliment Cæsar paid him in his 'Anti-Cato,' *ib.* His eloquence prevails upon Cæsar to acquit Ligarius, contrary to his resolution, 342. He spends his time in philosophic retirement, and in forming the young nobility, *ib.* Invents Latin

terms in logic and natural philosophy, answerable to the Greek, *ib.* Rarely goes to Rome, and then only to vote Cæsar new honours, 343. What he said of Cæsar's setting up Pompey's statues, *ib.* Forms a design to write the history of his own country, but is prevented, *ib.* Divorces Terentia, and marries a young lady of great fortune, to whom he was guardian, *ib.* 344. Loses his daughter Tullia, 344, Puts away his new wife, because she seemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia, *ib.* After the death of Cæsar, Cicero recommends a general amnesty, and that provinces should be decreed to Brutus and Cassius, *ib.* 345. Cicero sets out for Athens, but the news of Antony's reformation invites him to return to Rome, 346. Lives there in fear of assassination, *ib.* Octavius comes to Rome to demand Cæsar's inheritance, and forms a connexion with Cicero, *ib.* 347. The dream which Cicero had some years before, concerning Octavius, 347. The reflexion, which Brutus made upon that new connexion of Cicero's, 348. Cicero expels Antony, *ib.* Hirtius and Pansa are sent to give Antony battle, *ib.* The rank of prætor and the fasces are granted to Octavius through Cicero's means, 349. The consuls fall in the action, and their troops incorporated with Cæsar's, *ib.* Antony being beaten, the senate endeavours to draw young Cæsar's troops from him, *ib.* Cæsar persuades Cicero to give him his interest for the consulship, and afterwards casts him off and takes another collegue, *ib.* The triumvirate is formed between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius, 350. They proscribe two hundred persons, *ib.* Cæsar contends for Cicero a while; but upon Antony giving up his uncle L. Cæsar, and Lepidus agreeing to put his brother Paulus in the list, Cicero is sacrificed, *ib.* The distressful movements of Cicero and his brother Quintus, under the terrors of proscription, *ib.* They part, 351. Quintus and his son are betrayed by his servants to the assassins, *ib.* Cicero is carried to his country-house at Astyra, where he goes on board a vessel, and coasts along to Circæum, *ib.* Though he has a favourable wind he puts to shore, and after various perplexing movements, seeks the sea again, *ib.* Omens of his death, 252. The assassins come up, amongst whom was Pompilius, whom he had defended, when under prosecution for parricide, *ib.* He stretches his neck out of the litter, and Herennius gives him the fatal blow, 253. Dies in the sixty-fourth year of his age, *ib.* His head and hands are fastened up over the Rostra by Antony, *ib.* What Augustus said of Cicero, to one of his own grandsons, *ib.* Augustus takes the son of Cicero for his collegue, in the consulship, and under his auspices public dishonour is done to the memory of Antony, *ib.* 254.

Cicero, Quintus, v. 316, 334, 351. Besieged by Ambiorix, iv. 387. Cæsar relieves him, *ib.*

——— the son, v. 322, 353. vi. 78, 80.

Cichreus, i. 228.

†*Cilicia*, Cicero's behaviour there, as proconsul, v. 336, 337.

Cilician pirates, their strength and audacity, iv. 152—155. Reduced by Pompey, 157.

Cilles, Ptolemy's general, defeated and taken prisoner by Demetrius, v. 368.

Cimber, Metillius, or M. Tullius Cimber lays hold on Cæsar's robe, which is a signal for all the rest to strike, iv. 434.

Cimbri and Teutones invade Italy with an army of three hundred thousand men, iii. 132.

Cimbri, whence their name, iii. 133. Invade the country of the Norici, 138. Defeat Cæpio, iv. 4. Their order of battle, iii. 151, 152. Their first ranks fastened to each other with cords, 153. The desperate behaviour of their women upon defeat, *ib.* 154.

†*Cimmerian* Bosporus, passed by the Amazons, i. 34.

†*Cimmerians*, pass from the borders of the northern ocean by the Palus Mæotis, into Asia Minor, iii. 133. Their original country so dark and dismal, that Homer thence took the image of hell, *ib.*

Cimon, discovers the grave of Theseus in Scyros, i. 46, and removes his body to Athens, *ib.*

CIMON, the son of Miltiades and Hegesipyla, daughter to king Olorus, iii. 297. In his youth not unlike his grandfather, who got the title of 'Coalemos' for his stupidity and indiscretion, *ib.* Yet has something generous and sincere in his behaviour, *ib.* Accused of a criminal commerce with his sister Elpinice, 298. Cimon has his mistresses, Aristeria and Mnestra, 299. Marries Isodice, the daughter of Euryptolemus, *ib.* His great attachment to her while she lives, and sorrow for her death, *ib.* Equal in courage to Miltiades, and in prudence to Themistocles; and an honester man than either of them, *ib.* One of the first to try the fortune of Athens at sea upon the invasion of Xerxes, *ib.* Distinguishes himself in the battle of Salamis, 300. The people begin to be weary of Themistocles, and with pleasure receive Cimon into the administration, *ib.* Commands at sea for the Athenians, and draws the allies from Pausanias, not by force, but by his obliging manners, *ib.* 301. Defeats the Persians, in Thrace, and reduces their general Butes to such extremity, that he burns the city of Eion, and perishes in the flames, 302. Plants there a colony of Athenians, and erects three marble Hermæ, in memory of his victory, *ib.* The inscriptions upon those Hermæ, *ib.* 303. Colonises Amphipolis, 303. Takes Scyros, and clears the Ægean sea of pirates, 304. Discovers the remains of Theseus in Scyros, and carries them with great solemnity to Athens, *ib.* Games instituted at Athens on that occasion, 305. Cimon's talent for singing, *ib.* His division of the booty taken at Sestos and Byzantium, *ib.* 306. His hospitality and bounty to the poor citizens of Athens, *ib.* 307. Revives the memory of the golden age, 308. Though so kind to the people, is yet of aristocratic principles, *ib.* Opposes Ephialtes in his attempt to abolish the court of Areopagus, *ib.* His noble answer to Rhœsaces the Persian, who offered him money, *ib.* He takes money and ships unmanned of the allies, instead of obliging them to serve in person, 309. This naturally gives

the Athenians the superiority, *ib.* He reduces the king of Persia so effectually, that from Ionia to Pamphylia there was not a Persian standard to be seen, *ib.* Reduces the Phaselites, 310. Defeats the Persian fleet in the Eurymedon, and takes two hundred ships, 311. Beats the Persian land-forces the same day, *ib.* Meets the Phœnician reinforcement, and takes all their ships, 312. Obliges the king of Persia, by treaty, not to come within the Chelidonian islands with his ships, nor within a day's journey of the Grecian sea with his land-forces, *ib.* With the treasure he brings home, builds the wall on the south side of the citadel, and performs other public works, 313. Reduces all the Thracian Chersonese, *ib.* Defeats the Thracians, and secures the gold-mines to the Athenians, *ib.* Is accused for not invading Macedon, when he had so fair an opportunity, *ib.* 314. Acquitted, 314. During the absence of Cimon, the jurisdiction of the Areopagites is narrowed, *ib.* Cimon, on his return, attempts to restore that jurisdiction, but in vain, 315. The friendship which subsisted between Cimon and the Lacedæmonians, *ib.* The names he gave his sons, *ib.* The Lacedæmonians, after the earthquake, apply to the Athenians for succours against the Helots and Messenians, 316, 317. Cimon marches to their relief, 317. His adventure on his return, at Corinth, *ib.* 318. The Lacedæmonians call in the Athenians a second time, and afterward dismiss their troops without employing them, 318. The Athenians banish Cimon, and declare war against the Lacedæmonians, 318. Cimon's friends distinguish themselves in the battle of Tanagra, and he is recalled, *ib.* 319. He makes peace between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 319. Fits out a fleet of two hundred sail, to carry the war a second time into Egypt and Cyprus, *ib.* Presages of his death, 320. Defeats the Persian fleet on the Asiatic coast, 321. Conceives a design to overrun that whole empire, *ib.* Casts anchor before Cyprus, *ib.* Sends persons to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, *ib.* The god declares that Cimon is already with him, *ib.* He dies during the siege of Citium, 322. Had given orders, that the officers should sail home with the fleet, and in the mean time conceal his death, *ib.* The last of the Grecian generals that did any thing considerable against the barbarians, *ib.* His monument, where, 323.

Cimonia, what, iii. 323.

Cineas, his conversation with Pyrrhus concerning happiness, iii. 83, 84. Sent by Pyrrhus to Rome with proposals of peace, which are rejected, 90, 92. Calls the senate of Rome 'an assembly of kings,' 93. Gives Fabricius an account of the Epicurean philosophy, *ib.* Sent with other offers to Rome, 95. Sent into Sicily, 98.

Cineas, father of Thallus, v. 16.

Cingonius Varro, a friend of Nymphidius, vi. 224. Put to death by Galba, *ib.*

Cinna, Lucius, though of the opposite party, named consul by Sylla, upon a promise of being true to his interest, iii. 245. Forfeits

his oath, 246. Driven out of Rome by Octavius, 173. Hires a person to assassinate Pompey, and his father, iv. 128. Killed by one of his own officers, 130, 131.
Cinna, one of the conspirators against Cæsar, iv. 437. vi. 73.
——, Helvius, a poet and friend of Cæsar's, dreams that Cæsar after his death, invites him to supper, vi. 75, *n*. Goes to attend his obsequies, and being taken by the rabble for the other Cinna, is torn in pieces, *ib.*
†*Cios*, v. 23.
†*Circæum*, iii. 166. v. 351.
Circe, i. 50.
†*Circeii*, ii. 209. iv. 425.
Circensian Games, i. 70.
Circus Flaminius, iii. 381. Maximus, i. 70.
†*Cirrætium*, a village in the territory of Arpinum, where Marius originally lived, iii. 122.
†*Cirrha*, i. 171, 231.
Cissus, and Ephialtes, imprisoned by Alexander, iv. 306.
Cissusa, a fountain whose water was like wine; Bacchus said to have been washed in it immediately after his birth, iii. 224.
†*Cithæron*, Mount, v. 279.
†*Citium*, iii. 322.
Civic Crown, the Roman reward for saving the life of a citizen, ii. 177.
Clælia swims the Tiber on horseback, i. 297. An equestrian statue of her in the Via Sacra, 298.
†*Clarius* river, i. 259.
†*Claros*, temple there plundered by the pirates, iv. 153.
†*Clastidium*, ii. 395.
Claudia, daughter of Appius Claudius, betrothed to Tiberius Gracchus, v. 203.
Claudii, account of that family, i. 301.
Claudius, the emperor, sets earthen vessels before Vinius after he had stolen one of plate, vi. 221.
——. See *Appius*.
Clausus. See *Appius*.
†*Clazomenæ*, iii. 419.
Cleænetus, son of Cleomedon, v. 387.
Cleandrides, Pericles bribes him to withdraw the Lacedæmonian forces, ii. 35. Is sentenced to death, and flies from Lacedæmon, *ib.* Father of Gylippus, *ib.*
Cleanthes, his observation upon Socrates and Alcibiades, ii. 119.
——, freedman and physician of Cato the Younger, v. 120.
Clearchus sent embassador by Philip to Thebes, v. 272.
—— the Lacedæmonian general, ordered to obey Cyrus, vi. 120. His over-cautious advice to Cyrus, 122. Ruins the whole affair by a bad disposition of the Greeks, 123.
Clemency, a temple dedicated to that virtue, in honour of Cæsar, iv. 423.
Cleobis, and Biton, preferred in point of happiness, by Solon, to Crœsus, i. 261.

Cleocritus compromises the dispute between the Athenians and Spartans, as to erecting a trophy, ii. 478.

Cleodes, son of Hyllus, iii. 66.

Cleomantes the Spartan, one of Alexander's diviners, iv. 317.

Cleombrotus succeeds Agesipolis, and is sent with an army into Bœotia, ii. 356, 364. iv. 100, 101. Killed in the battle of Leuctra, iv. 107. v. 154.

————, king of Sparta, in the room of his father-in-law Leonidas, who is deposed, v. 145. Takes refuge in the temple of Neptune, 149. His wife Chelonis, who had before attended her father in his banishment, now goes into exile with him, 149.

Cleomedes the Astypalensian, account of his gigantic strength, i. 97. Of his body's vanishing after his death, 98. The priestess of Apollo calls him the last of the heroes, *ib.*

Cleomedon, fined by the Athenians, v. 387.

Cleomenes, the Athenian, iii. 205.

————, the Spartan, one of the arbitrators between the Athenians and Megarensians, i. 230.

Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, marries Agiatis the widow of Agis, v. 154. His character, 155. Dissatisfied at the prevailing manners of Sparta, *ib.* Instructed in the Stoic philosophy by Sphærus, 156. Sounds Xenares about bringing back the Spartan constitution to its first principles, 157. Thinks war would furnish the best opportunity for the execution of his designs, *ib.* Seizes Athenæum, 158. Watches the motions of Aratus, *ib.* He is recalled from Arcadia by the Ephori, *ib.* Sent out again, *ib.* Takes Methydrium in the territories of Argos, *ib.* The Achæans march against him with an army greatly superior to his, under the command of Aristomachus, *ib.* Yet Aratus prevents their fighting, *ib.* Cleomenes goes to the assistance of the Eleans against the Achæans, and defeats the latter at Lacæum, *ib.* Aratus makes a sudden movement to Mantinea, and takes it, *ib.* Cleomenes recalls Archidamus from exile, who is soon afterward treacherously slain, 159, 160. Bribes the Ephori to permit him to renew the war, 160. Defeats the Achæans near Leuctra, and kills Lysiades, 161. Persuades his father-in-law, Megistonoüs, to join him in endeavouring to break the yoke of the Ephori, and to procure an equal division of lands, *ib.* Remarkable dream of one of the Ephori in the temple of Pasiphaa, *ib.* Cleomenes takes Heræa and Alsæa, two cities belonging to the Achæan league, *ib.* Returns suddenly with a small party, and kills all the Ephori, except one, 162. Agesilaus, who was the surviving one, makes his appearance the next day, and is spared, *ib.* Cleomenes banishes eighty of the most obnoxious citizens, 164. His speech to the people in justification of his proceedings, *ib.* 165. He surrenders his own estate into the public stock, 165. Divides the lands, 166. Fills up the number of citizens, *ib.* Forms the youth according to the discipline of Lycurgus, *ib.* Takes his brother Euclidas for his partner in the throne, *ib.* Ravages the territories of Megalopolis, without any opposition from the Achæans, 166. Is a

pattern of sobriety, 167. What kind of table he kept for strangers, 168. The Mantineans put themselves under his protection, *ib.* He defeats the Achæans at Dimeæ, 169. Insists on being appointed to the command of the league, *ib.* His sickness breaks his measures, 170. Aratus out of envy to Cleomenes, invites Antigonus into Peloponnesus, *ib.* Cleomenes declares war against the Achæans, 172. Takes Pellene, Pheneum, and Penteleum, *ib.* 173. Comes upon Argos at the time of the Nemean games, and takes it, 173. Makes himself master of Cleonæ and Phlius, 174. The Corinthians invite him into their city, *ib.* He invests the citadel, which was in the hands of the Achæans, *ib.* Fortifies the Onean mountains, 175. Antigonus, after several vain attempts, gets into Peloponnesus, by means of a defection of the Argives, 176, 177. Cleomenes retires to defend Laconia, 177. His wife Agiatis dies, *ib.* Ptolemy promises him succours, 178. His mother and children are sent hostages into Egypt, *ib.* He enfranchises a number of the Helots, 179. Makes a diversion against the progress of the Macedonian arms, by surprising Megalopolis, 180. Makes two excursions into the territories of Argos, 181, 182. Is forced to action for want of money, 183. Defeated and ruined in the battle of Sellasia, 184. Takes ship at Gythium, 186. Antigonus behaves to the Spartans with great humanity, *ib.* Therycion exhorts Cleomenes to kill himself, and soon after sets the example, 187. Cleomenes' answer, 188. He sails to Egypt, where Ptolemy Euergetes treats him with some degree of generosity, *ib.* Ptolemy's successor, being a weak prince, soon begins to look upon him with an evil eye, 190. He desires only a ship to carry him to Peleponnesus, and is refused it, *ib.* The great injury done him by Nicagoras the Messenian, 191, 192. He is confined to his apartment, 192. He gets out of confinement by a stratagem, 193. After great exertions of valour in the streets, he finds it impossible to escape and therefore kills himself, 194. His friends despatch themselves with him, *ib.* Ptolemy puts his mother and children to death, 196.

Cleon, the Athenian, accuses Pericles, ii. 51. His extravagant action in speaking, iii. 410. v. 201. His character, iii. 408, 409. Reflects on Nicias, and having the command given him, returns victorious, 409. Troublesome in the administration, 410. Is killed in battle, *ib.*

—— of Halicarnassus, composes an oration for Lysander; containing arguments for making the king of Sparta elective, iii. 220.

——, the Byzantine, his esteem for Phocion, v. 18.

——, one of the tyrants of Sicyon, vi. 153.

†*Cleonæ*, ii. 235. iii. 332. v. 34, 174. vi. 181.

Cleonice, of Byzantium, comes with great reluctance towards the bed of Pausanias king of Sparta, and is inadvertently killed by him, iii. 301. He seeks means of expiation, and invokes her ghost, *ib.* The answer she made him, *ib.*

Cleonymus, of Sparta, stirs up the Thebans against Demetrius, but on that prince's approach withdraws, v. 404, 405. His

wife unfaithful to him, iii. 105. Calls in Pyrrhus, and advises him to attack Sparta immediately; but that advice is not listened to, and Pyrrhus fails, 105—110.

Cleonymus, son of Sphodrias favourite of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, iv. 102. His valour and death, 107.

———, father of Leonidas, v. 135.

Cleopater commands for Aratus in Acrocorinthus, vi. 195.

Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, and wife of Tigranes, iii. 358.

———, Cæsar undertakes the Ægyptian war for her sake, iv. 413. Cæsar sends for her, and she contrives to be conveyed to him in a carpet, *ib.* 414. Cæsar reconciles her to her brother, 414. Her brother is lost in an action upon the Nile, 415. Cæsar declares her queen of Egypt, and has a son by her named Cæsario, *ib.* Commanded to appear before Antony, v. 448. Her magnificent spirit, and the charms of her conversation, 449, 450. On a party of fishing, puts a salt-fish on Antony's hook, and tells him that 'kings, not fish, were his game,' 453. Dresses in the habit of the goddess Isis, 478. Supplies Antony with ships, money, and provisions, 475, 479. Jealous of the honours paid Octavia at Athens, 480, 482. Antony loses many friends on her account, 481. Persuades Antony to fight Octavius by sea, 486. Ruins Antony by her flight, for she draws him after her, 489. Forms a scheme to retire into the farthest part of the east, 492. Makes an experiment of several poisonous drugs, 495, and venomous animals, *ib.* Builds several monuments, as repositories of her wealth, 497. Draws up Antony, half-dead, into one of them, 499. Seized by Proculeius, 501. Her intentions to starve herself to death, 503. Augustus visits her, *ib.* Her address to the gods at Antony's tomb, 505. Writes a letter to Augustus, 506. Dies, *ib.*

——— and Alexander, twins of Antony by Cleopatra, v. 460. Cleopatra marries prince Juba the historian, 508.

———, wife of Philip, iv. 252.

———, sister to Alexander the Great, iv. 42, 48.

Cleophanes, the Athenian, distinguishes himself by his bravery, v. 17.

Cleophantus, one of the sons of Themistocles, i. 357.

Cleophylus, Homer's poems preserved by his posterity, i. 115.

Cleoptolemus, Antiochus marries his daughter in Eubœa, iii. 51.

Cleora, wife of Agesilaus, iv. 94.

Clepsydra, a fountain in the citadel of Athens, v. 457, and *n.*

Clidemus the historian, i. 21, 34.

Clients, the people distinguished into patrons and clients by Romulus, i. 68.

† *Climax*, cliffs of, under which Alexander marches by the Pamphylian sea, iv. 265.

Clinias, a friend of Solon, i. 239.

———, father of Alcibiades, gains honour in the sea-fight near Artemisium, ii. 112. Falls in the battle of Coronea, *ib.*

———, father of Aratus, one of the two chief magistrates of Sicyon, vi. 153. Killed by Abantidas, *ib.*

Clisthenes, son of Alcmæon, expels the Pisistratidæ, and establishes the democracy at Athens, ii. 5.
Clitomachus, v. 295.
‡ *Clitorians*, how Soüs acquits himself of his promise to them, i. 111.
Clitus saves the life of Alexander, iv. 263. Ill omen, while he is sacrificing, 317. Behaves rudely to Alexander, and is killed by him, 318, 319. The king inconsolable for his death, 320.
——— carries Phocion and his friends as prisoners to Athens, v. 41.
———, servant to Brutus, vi. 106.
Clodia, sister of Clodius, and wife of Lucullus, divorced for injuring her husband's bed, iii. 382.
———, called 'Quadrantaria,' and why, v. 328.
Clodius, Publius, raises a mutiny in the army against Lucullus, iii. 376, 377. His infamous character, v. 328. Insults Pompey, iv. 186. Intrigues with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, or attempts at least to do it, v. 326, 327. iv. 366. Accused of impiety and incest, but acquitted, v. 328. Elected tribune of the people, 329. Causes great disturbance in Rome, v. 80, 82, 83. For the sake of being made tribune, descends from a patrician into a plebeian family, 82, 89. Sends Cato to Cyprus, 83. Prosecutes and banishes Cicero, v. 332. Burns Cicero's houses, 333. Killed by Milo, 335.
Clodius Glaber, the prætor, sent against Spartacus, iii. 458.
———, the husband of Fulvia, who was subsequently married to Antony, v. 435.
——— goes in disguise from Lepidus' camp to Antony, v. 442.
——— *Celsus*, the Antiochian, his advice to Nymphidius, vi. 222.
——— *Macer* commands in Africa, vi. 222. Slain by Trebonianus, 224.
Clodones, a name of the Bacchanals, iv. 240.
Cloelva. See *Clælia*.
Clokes and hats of purple, the most honourable marks of the prince's regard among the Macedonians, iv. 50.
† *Clusians*, besieged by the Gauls, i. 380. The Roman embassador, on that occasion, unjustly commits hostilities against the Gauls, 381.
† *Cnacion*, a river in Sparta, near which the senate used to meet, called also Oenus, i. 120.
Cneius. See all the *Cneii* under their family-names.
† *Cnidus*, ii. 154. iii. 310.
† *Cnidians*, iv. 412.
Coalemos, a name given to Cimon the grandfather of Cimon the Athenian general, iii. 297.
Cocceius, Otho's brother's son, vi. 261.
Coccus Ilicis, i. 18, *n*. See *Kermes*.
Cock, on what occasion the Lacedæmonians offered one in sacrifice, iv. 114. A golden cock carried on the point of a spear, vi. 125.
Cocles. See *Horatius*.
Codrus, i. 31, *n*. 45, *n*. Solon descended from him, 218.

† *Cœlosyria*, given by Antony to Cleopatra, v. 460.
Cœlia, wife of Sylla, divorced because she was barren, iii. 240.
Cœlius, one of Carbo's officers, iv. 132.
——— the orator, v. 337, *n.*
Coffins, two of stone made for Numa, one for his body, and the other for his books, i. 206.
Cohorts. See *Prætorian.*
Coin, that of Persia stamped with the figure of an archer; hence Agesilaus says, 'he was driven out of Asia by ten thousand archers,' iv. 89.
† *Colchos*, i. 37. iv. 167.
† *Colias*, i. 228.
Collatinus, Tarquinius, the husband of Lucretia, chosen consul, i. 272, 273. Accused of favouring Tarquin, 279. Lays down the consulate, and retires from Rome, 280.
Colline Gate, iii. 273.
Colonies, the advantage of those sent out by Pericles, ii. 19.
† *Colonis*, a town so called, iii. 24. Probably should be written 'Coronis,' *ib. n.*
† *Colophonians*, restored to liberty by Lucullus, iii. 330.
Colossus of Hercules, ii. 99.
Colt, sacrificed by the Thebans, ii. 367.
Colyttus, one of the Attic boroughs, v. 265.
Comagene, iv. 167, *n.*
Comedy, the ancient, iii. 383, *n.* v. 375.
Comet, a large one appeared for seven nights after the death of Cæsar, iv. 438.
Comias, archon when Pisistratus erected his tyranny, i. 269.
Cominius, the consul, besieges Corioli, ii. 182. Beats the Volscians, 184, 185. Speaks in praise of Caius Marcius, 185, 186. Gives him the surname of Coriolanus, 186.
Comitium, a place in Rome where elections were held, and other public business transacted, i. 64. Why so called, 82.
Community of goods in Saturn's time; Cimon's liberality resembled it, iii. 308.
Companies, the people of Rome distributed into companies by Numa, according to their trades, i. 197.
Comparisons and Similies; Of the forming of a commonwealth to the stopping and uniting of small bodies in the water, iii. 10. The spirit of contention in states compared to the force of distempers in the human body, 24. Of Pyrrhus to a gamester, iii. 103. Of ambitious men to Ixion, v. 132. Subjects to be chosen for the mind as colours are for the eye, ii. 3. The operations of a statesman compared to those of a physician, 27. The passions of the soul to the strings of a musical instrument, 27, 28. The rage of tyranny dissolved in the ardour of youthful indulgences, as iron is softened in the fire, vi. 8. The precipitate steps of returning freedom, compared to the rash use of returning health, 36. The severe, though necessary, measures of administration, compared to the bandages of surgeons, iii. 394. Alcibiades compared to the land of Egypt, 410. Of bio-

graphy to portrait-painting, iv. 239. Of the Macedonian army, after the death of Alexander, to Polyphemus after his eye was put out, vi. 211. The great councils of a state compared to anchors, i. 245. The constituent parts of an army to those of the human body, ii. 341. vi. 211. Over cautious generals to timorous physicians, ii. 427. The Spartan Phalanx, to a fierce animal erecting his bristles, 474.

Concave mirrors, the vestal virgins recovered fire by them when theirs happened to be extinguished, i. 183.

Conception and delivery supposed to be assisted by being struck with thongs in the feast of the Lupercalia; see *Lupercalia* and *Luperci*.

Concord, a temple built to her, i. 418. v. 241.

Connidas, tutor to Theseus, i. 6. The Athenians sacrificed to him, *ib*.

Conon takes an unfair advantage, with respect to the public, of Solon's friendship for him, i. 239.

——, the Athenian general, defeated by Lysander, at Ægos Potamos, iii. 199. Defeats the Spartans near Cnidus, vi. 138. Kills their admiral Pisander, iv. 91. Rebuilds the long walls of Athens with the Persian money, 98.

Conopion burns the body of Phocion, v. 44.

Conscience, terrors of conscience, upon Marius, iii. 179. On Pausanias, 301.

Considius tells Cæsar he is 'secure in the armour of old age,' iv. 373.

Conspiracy against Cæsar, vi. 66, 67. Of Catiline, iv. 364. v. 71, 308, 309.

Consualia, a feast among the Romans, i. 73.

Consuls, when one of them was first chosen out of the plebeians, i. 286, *n*.

Consus, the god of counsel, whose altar Romulus pretended to find under ground, i. 69. Kept covered, except during the equestrian games, 70.

†*Coos*, ii. 154.

Copillus, chief of the Tectosagæ, taken prisoner by Sylla, iii. 233.

Coponius, governor for the Romans in Carræ, iii. 489. Receives Crassus into the town after his defeat, *ib*.

Corcyne, Ariadne's nurse, i. 23.

†*Corcyra*, an island of considerable strength, ii. 43 Pyrrhus gains it by marriage, iii. 76. The dispute between it's inhabitants and the city of Corinth, determined by Themistocles, i. 346.

†*Corduba*, iv. 376.

Cordylio, v. 57.

Core, daughter of Aïdoneus king of the Molossians, i. 40.

†*Corfinium*, iv. 398.

†*Corinth*, it's regard for liberty, ii. 233, 259. Why called the 'Fetters of Greece,' iii. 43. vi. 168. Colonised by Cæsar, iv. 423.

Corinthians, allow the Athenians to hold the place of honour at

the Isthmian games, i. 31. Colonise Syracuse, ii. 233, *n.* Assist the Syracusans, 234. For which purpose they choose Timoleon general, and send supplies after him, *ib.* Their war with the Corcyreans, ii. 43, 44.

CORIOLANUS, Caius Marcius, of an illustrious family, ii. 174. Brought up by his mother in her widowhood, *ib.* His excellent genius not sufficiently cultivated, 175. His heroic strength improved by exercise, 176. Makes his first campaign, when Tarquin was endeavouring to re-establish himself, *ib.* Gains a civic crown in the decisive battle, 177. His affectionate attention to his mother Volumnia, 179. He lives in the same house with her after he is married, *ib.* The commons apply to the senate for relief against the usurers, *ib.* Relief is promised them before the Sabine war, but denied after it, *ib.* 180. Coriolanus, in particular, is severe against them, 180. The people secede to the Sacred Mount, *ib.* The senate send to them the most venerable men of their body, and at the head of them Menenius Agrippa who addresses them with a fable that brings them to temper, *ib.* 181. Before they are reconciled to the senate, they obtain tribunes to defend their rights, 181. The plebeians now readily give in their names for the war, 182. Corioli is taken chiefly by the valour of Marcius, 183. He hastens to assist the consul Cominius in the battle with the Volscians, 184, 185. The Volscians are entirely defeated, 185. Cominius offers Marcius the tenth of the spoils, *ib.* Marcius refuses the offer, and only desires to have a Volscian released, to whom he was bound by the ties of hospitality, *ib.* 186. Cominius gives him the surname of ‘ Coriolanus,’ 186. Some observations upon the Grecian and Roman names, 187, 188. Provisions are extremely scarce in Rome, and the tribunes lay hold of that opportunity to incense the people against the senate, 188. The people of Velitræ having suffered by a pestilential disorder, desire a colony from Rome; and the tribunes inveigh against the nobility for sending one, *ib.* 189. Coriolanus makes an inroad into the territories of Antium, with a body of volunteers, and brings off plenty of provisions, 190. Stands for the consulship, and the people, on the sight of his scars, are inclined to serve him; but the great appearance of senators in his interest awakes their jealousy, *ib.* 191. His resentment thereupon, 192. A great quantity of bread-corn is brought to Rome, and Coriolanus proposes holding up it's price, and advises the senate not to distribute that *gratis*, which was a present from Gelon, 193. His speech upon that occasion, *ib.* 194. The tribunes stir up the people, and summon Coriolanus to answer for the advice he had given, 194. A tumult ensues, 195. The consuls and senate endeavour to appease the people, *ib.* The tribunes insist, that Coriolanus shall answer to certain articles, *ib.* Instead of the submissive language which the people expected, he makes a haughty speech, 196. Sicinius pronounces sentence of death against Coriolanus, *ib.* The patricians prevent the execution of that sentence, *ib.* The patri-

cians demand a legal trial for Coriolanus before the people, and Sicinius agrees to it, 197. The expedition against the Antiates intervenes, *ib.* Appius Claudius opposes the senate's allowing the people a right of suffrage against them, 198. Nevertheless, Coriolanus appears to take his trial, *ib.* The tribunes break their word, and bring new charges against him, 199. They also make the people vote by tribes, and not by centuries, *ib.* He is condemned to exile by a majority of three tribes, 200. Remains unhumbled, *ib.* Meditates revenge, and for that purpose applies to the Volscians, 201. His address to Tullus Aufidius, the principal man among them, and hitherto his greatest enemy, 202, 203. He meets with the kindest reception, 203. A remarkable prodigy happens at Rome, *ib.* The Romans order all the Volscians to quit their city, on occasion of some public shows, 206. The Volscians demand restitution of the lands and cities they had lost, and are answered with a defiance, 207. Coriolanus is joined in commission with Tullus, *ib.* He makes an inroad into the Roman territories, but spares the lands of the patricians, *ib.* 208. The Volscians repair to the standard in great numbers, 208. Tullus takes part of them to garrison the towns, and Coriolanus with the other part marches into Latium, *ib.* 209. Coriolanus takes several towns, subject to, or in alliance with, the Romans, 209. Upon his march against Lavinium, the plebeians propose to recall him; but from an ill-timed resentment, or spirit of opposition, the patricians refuse their consent, 210. He marches immediately toward Rome, and encamps only five miles from it, 211. Both senate and people send a deputation, desiring him to be reconciled, and to return to his native country, *ib.* He receives them with great pomp, and insists on conditions very favourable to the Volscians, *ib.* 212. Gives the Romans thirty days to consider of them, and retreats, 212. Tullus and other Volscians, who envied his renown, cabal against him, *ib.* Coriolanus spends the interval in harassing the allies of Rome, 213. The Romans send a second embassy, to demand more favourable conditions, and a third consisting of the ministers of religion; but Coriolanus bids them either accept the former propositions, or prepare for war, 213. The divine assistance explained by Plutarch to be a moral influence, 215. An expedient is suggested to Valeria, as she was praying in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, 216. She goes with a number of matrons to Volumnia, the mother of Coriolanus, and intreats her and his wife Vergilia, to apply to him in behalf of their falling country, *ib.* The affecting meeting between Coriolanus and his family, 218. Volumnia's speech to him, *ib.* 219. He stands a long time silent, 219. Volumnia throws herself at his feet, and prevails, 220. The effect his departure from before Rome had upon the Romans, 221. A temple is built to the Fortune of Women, *ib.* Tullus meditates the death of Coriolanus, 223. He is summoned to give an account of his conduct before the people of Antium; but his enemies, not permitting him to be heard, fall upon him, and despatch him on the spot, *ib.* 224. The

Volscians give him an honourable burial, *ib.* The Roman women are permitted to go into mourning for him, 225.
† *Corioli* besieged and taken by the Romans, ii. 182, 184.
Cornel-tree, one considered as holy, being supposed to grow from the staff of Romulus' javelin, i. 84.
Cornelia, daughter of Metellus Scipio, and widow of Publius Crassus, married to Pompey, iv. 195, 196. Her great accomplishments, 196. Her sad meeting with Pompey at Mitylene, 221. Charges Pompey's defeat on his connexions with her ill fortune, *ib.* 222. Is an eye-witness of his tragical death, 227.
———, daughter of Cinna, and Cæsar's first wife, iv. 357.
———, daughter of Scipio Africanus, and mother of the Gracchi, v. 119. Her character, 200. Has opportunity to marry a king, and declines it, *ib.* Her care in the education of her sons Tiberius and Caius, whom their father left very young, *ib.* Reproaches them with her being called 'the mother-in-law of Scipio,' rather than 'the mother of the Gracchi,' 207. Statue erected to her, and it's inscription, 228. The magnanimity of her behaviour on the untimely death of her sons, 242. The honours paid her in her old age, *ib.*
Cornelius, one of Sylla's officers, bribed by Cæsar, during the proscriptions, to let him escape, iv. 357, 358.
———, Cneius, chosen by Marcellus, for his collegue, ii. 294.
——— *Cethegus*, degraded from the priest's office, for deficiency in point of ceremony, ii. 394.
——— *Cossus*, commands as a military tribune, at a time when there were not consuls, and has the honour of offering up the spoils called '*Opima*,' i. 75. Appointed dictator, 407.
———, Publius, i. 207.
——— *Balbus*, hinders Cæsar from rising up to the senate, iv. 428.
———, Caius, a diviner at Padua, announces there the beginning and issue of the battle of Pharsalia, iv. 412.
———, Dolabella, an admirer of Cleopatra, acquaints her with Augustus' design to remove her from the monument, v. 505.
——— *Scipio*, appointed general of horse by Camillus, when dictator, i. 367.
——— *Lentulus*, his generous offer to Paulus Æmilius, ii. 88.
——— *Merula*, made consul by Octavius in the room of Cinna, iii. 173.
——— *Sylla*. See *Sylla*.
——— *Nepos*, iii. 390.
——— *Laco*, appointed captain of the prætorian bands, vi. 222.
Cornificius, Lucius, employed by Augustus to impeach Brutus, vi. 81.
———, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, iv. 407, 416.
Cornutus, saved in the time of the proscriptions by the fidelity of his slaves, iii. 177.
Corœbus the architect, ii. 23.
† *Coronea*, ii. 32. iii. 226.
Corræus, father of Stratonice, the wife of Antigonus, v. 364.

Corrhabus, son of Demetrius by Eurydice, v. 421.
Corvinus, Valerius, six times consul, iii. 156.
Corynetes, or 'the club-bearer,' i. 9.
†*Cos*, isle of, iii. 329.
Cosconius, a man of prætorian dignity, killed by Cæsar's soldiers in a mutiny, iv. 416.
Cosis, general of the Albanians, killed by Pompey, iv. 170.
†*Cossa* and Narnia, colonised by the Romans, iii. 32.
Cossinius, collegue of Varinus, his camp forced by Spartacus, and himself slain, iii. 458.
Cossus, Licinius, sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, i. 366.
Cothon, what, i. 125.
Cotta, Marcus Aurelius, opposes Marius' law with respect to voting, but in vain, iii. 123. Is consul with Lucullus, 332. Sent by the senate to guard the Propontis and Bithynia, 334. His ambition to fight Mithridates, ends in being defeated both by sea and land, 336. Defeated in a sea-fight by Sertorius, iv. 16.
—— and Titurius, cut off by Ambiorix in their quarters, iv. 387.
——, Publius, what Cicero said to him, v. 324.
——, Lucius, v. 326.
Cotylon, a name given to Varius, v. 442.
Cotys, king of Paphlagonia, joins Agesilaus against the Persians, iv. 82. Marries the daughter of Spithridates, 83.
Courage, a mild and unsuspicious quality, vi. 144.
Cow with calf, a barbarous sacrifice necessary for the widow, who married before her time of mourning was expired, i. 187.
Cowardice, how punished at Sparta, iv. 109.
Crane, the name of a dance instituted by Theseus, i. 24.
Cranium, a suburb of Corinth, iv. 258.
†*Crano*, city of, v. 286, 372.
Crassus, the father of Piso, vi. 233.
CRASSUS, Marcus, his father had been honoured with the censorship and a triumph, iii. 447. He is brought up in a small house with two brothers, *ib.* Takes care of a sister-in-law and her children, *ib.* Temperate and chaste, yet accused of a criminal commerce with a vestal virgin, *ib.* That accusation a false one, 448. His principal vice covetousness, *ib.* He improves an estate of three hundred talents to seven thousand one hundred, *ib.* Makes great advantage of Sylla's proscriptions, and of the fires likewise which happened in Rome, *ib.* Keeps a number of slaves who were builders, but builds only one house for himself, *ib.* 449. Breeds up slaves for every service in life, in order for sale, 449. These bring him a greater revenue than his lands and silver mines, *ib.* His house is open to strangers, *ib.* 450. He lends money to his friends, without interest, but is strict in demanding it at the day, 450. His invitations were chiefly to the common people, *ib.* He cultivates the eloquence of the bar, defends every citizen that applies to him, and in all cases comes prepared, *ib.* Returns the salutation of every Roman by name, *ib.* His knowledge of history extensive, and he is not without a taste of Aristotle's philosophy; yet keeps the philosopher, who is his

guide and companion, in a condition just above starving, *ib.* Cinna and Marius put the father and brother of Crassus to death, 451. Crassus flies into Spain, and takes refuge in a cave by the sea-side, in the lands of Vibius Pacianus, *ib.* Vibius supports him there for a considerable time, *ib.* On the death of Cinna, he raises forces in Spain, 453. Passes thence into Africa, to Metellus Pius, and afterward into Italy, where he serves under Sylla, *ib.* Sent by Sylla to levy troops amongst the Marsi, *ib.* What Sylla said to him, on his asking for a guard, *ib.* He executes that, and other commissions, in an able manner, *ib.* The rise of his competition with Pompey, 454. Supposed to have converted much of the plunder of Tuder to his own use, *ib.* Very serviceable to Sylla in the decisive battle fought near Rome, *ib.* Makes the most unjust and rapacious use of Sylla's proscriptions, *ib.* Sylla gives him up, *ib.* A flatterer, and very capable of being flattered; covetous, and hates covetous men, *ib.* 455. Envies Pompey's rapid progress in glory, 455. By the pains he takes in the administration and good offices to his fellow-citizens, acquires an interest not inferior to that of Pompey, *ib.* Becomes security for Cæsar in the sum of eight hundred and thirty talents, 456. Sacrifices both his attachments and resentments to his interest, *ib.* The gladiators' war breaks out, 457. Spartacus has the chief conduct of it, *ib.* Crassus is sent against him by the senate, 459. His lieutenant Mummius fights, contrary to orders, and is beaten by Spartacus, 460. He punishes that corps with decimation, *ib.* Spartacus retires through Lucania to the sea, *ib.* Hires some Cilician pirates to transport him and his troops into Sicily; but they take his money, and deceive him, *ib.* Entrenches himself in the peninsula of Rhegium, *ib.* Crassus builds a wall across the Isthmus, 461. Spartacus gets over it in a snowy tempestuous night, *ib.* Crassus repents of his having written to the senate for farther assistance, *ib.* Comes to an action with the enemy, in which he kills twelve thousand of them, 462. Sends two of his officers against Spartacus, who had retired toward the mountains of Petelia, *ib.* Those officers are put to flight, *ib.* This advantage proves the ruin of Spartacus; for his troops insist upon coming to a decisive battle, *ib.* Crassus, being informed that Pompey was approaching, hastens to meet the enemy, *ib.* 463. A battle ensues, in which Spartacus after great exertions of valour is slain, 463. Pompey meets a number of the enemy who had escaped out of the field, and puts them to the sword; after which he takes to himself the honour of finishing the war, *ib.* Crassus has an ovation granted him, 464. Crassus solicits Pompey's interest in his application for the consulship, and obtains it, *ib.* They are appointed consuls together, *ib.* They disagree in every thing, *ib.* Nothing of note is performed, except Crassus' consecrating the tenths of his estate to Hercules, and his entertaining the people at ten thousand tables, *ib.* They are reconciled by Aurelius, a Roman knight, who alleges a command for it from Jupiter, *ib.* Crassus makes the first advances, 465. In his censorship attempts to make Egypt tribu-

tary to the Romans, but is prevented by his collegue Catulus, *ib.* Suspected of having some concern in the conspiracy of Catiline, *ib.* That suspicion, probably, groundless, *ib. n.* Crassus is at enmity with Cicero, but at length reconciled to him through the mediation of his son Publius, who was a great admirer of that eloquent man, 466. Cæsar comes to Rome to solicit the consulship, and forms the famous triumvirate, *ib.* In order to the prolonging Cæsar's government of Gaul, Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls again, *ib.* 467. They are interrogated in full senate as to their intentions, and Crassus answers with more moderation than Pompey, *ib.* 468. Domitius is encouraged by Cato to oppose them in the election; but they carry it by violence, 468. Drive the opposite party out of the Forum, while Cæsar is continued five years more in his government, and the Spains and Syria are decreed to Pompey and Crassus, *ib.* 469. Crassus indulges a sanguine and vain ambition of conquest, 469. The tribune Ateius threatens to oppose him in his designs against the Parthians, *ib.* He prevails with Pompey to conduct him out of Rome, *ib.* Ateius meets him at the gate, by virtue of his office commands him to stop and utters the most horrid execrations against him, 470. Crassus, taking his voyage in the winter, loses a number of ships, *ib.* Pays his respects to Deïotarus in Galatia, *ib.* Throws a bridge over the Euphrates with ease, 471. Reduces Zenodocia and all Mesopotamia, *ib.* Suffers himself to be saluted 'Imperator,' for the taking of a town, *ib.* Garrisons the towns, and returns into Syria, to winter, *ib.* His son arrives with a thousand horse sent by Cæsar, *ib.* His error in not strengthening himself by the acquisition of Babylon and Seleucia, *ib.* Behaves in Syria more like a trader than a general, *ib.* Calculates the revenues of the cities, and weighs the treasures in the temple of Atargatis at Hierapolis, 472. Omen of his ruin, *ib.* What passed between him and the embassadors of Orodes king of Parthia, *ib.* 473. Alarming accounts are brought of the Parthian manner of fighting, and Cassius and others desire Crassus to deliberate, 473. Artavasdes, king of Armenia, arrives at the Roman camp, offers him large succours, and advises him to march into Parthia by the way of Armenia, 474. Crassus rejects his advice, and the Armenian departs, *ib.* Other ill omens, *ib.* 475. The forces, with which he passed the Euphrates, 475. Cassius advises him to secure his troops in some fortified town, till he had an account of the enemy which might be depended upon; or else to march along the river till he reached Seleucia, *ib.* 476. Ariamnes, an artful Arabian, draws Crassus into an immense plain, 476. Surena marches against him, while Orodes lays waste Armenia, 477. Surena's opulence and great authority, *ib.* Ariamnes leads Crassus into a vast sea of sand, 478. Artavasdes, by his envoys, desires Crassus to go and drive Orodes out of Armenia first: or at least to keep to the hills, where he might not be exposed to the Parthian cavalry, *ib.* The infatuated Roman gives an answer full of resentment, *ib.* Cassius reproaches Ariamnes, in

private, with his perfidy, *ib.* The Arabian answers him in an artful manner, and soon after withdraws, with the consent of Crassus, 479. Crassus has intelligence of the approach of the Parthians, and is greatly disconcerted, *ib.* 480. The disposition of his forces, 480. Comes to the river Balissus, and is desired by many of his officers to pass the night there; but he marches forward with precipitation, *ib.* Surena conceals his main force, behind the advanced guard, *ib.* The horrid noise, by which the Parthians excite their men to action, and inspire the enemy with terror, 481. They attack the Romans on all sides, and with their arrows drive the cavalry and light armed back upon the legions, *ib.* The arrows do great execution on the legions, which were drawn up in a close square, 482. Crassus orders his son, with a select party, to get up with the enemy, *ib.* They fly, and young Crassus pursues with great ardour, 483. They face about, and make dreadful havock of the Romans, *ib.* 484. Young Crassus fails in his attempt upon the heavy-armed Parthian horse, with his light-armed Gauls, *ib.* Has an opportunity to retire, but scorns to leave so many brave men dying for his sake, 485. Desires his armour-bearer to despatch him, *ib.* The principal officers follow his example, *ib.* The Parthians bring his head, and show it in an insulting manner to his father, 486. The Romans are struck with astonishment at the sight, *ib.* Crassus behaves with uncommon magnanimity, *ib.* His speech on that occasion, 487. The Parthians make a great slaughter amongst the remaining troops, *ib.* Crassus gives himself up to despair, 488. The Romans decamp in the night, under the conduct of Octavius and Cassius, *ib.* Ignatius calls at Carræ, and then makes the best of his way to Zeugma, with three hundred horse, 489. Coponius Governor of Carræ, goes to meet Crassus, and conducts his army into the town, *ib.* The Parthians in the morning despatch the wounded Romans and the stragglers, *ib.* Surena sends persons to Carræ with insidious proposals of a peace, 490, but soon advances to besiege the place, *ib.* The Romans resolve upon flight, and Crassus takes Andromachus, another traitor, for his guide, *ib.* 491. Crassus discovers the treachery of Andromachus, returns to Carræ, and thence escapes into Syria, 491. At day-light Crassus regains the road, and gets possession of a hill connected with the mountains of Sinnaca, *ib.* 492. Surena has recourse to art, and the Romans force Crassus to treat, 492, 493. He protests against that violence, 493. Surena tells him, 'he must sign the treaty on the banks of the Euphrates,' 494. Crassus is mounted upon a Parthian horse, and the grooms drive him on, *ib.* The Romans make resistance, and Crassus is slain in the scuffle, by a Parthian named Pomaxæthres, *ib.* The number of Romans killed in this war is twenty thousand, and ten thousand are made prisoners, 495. Surena sends the head and hand of Crassus to Orodes in Armenia, *ib.* He pretends, notwithstanding, to bring Crassus alive into Seleucia, *ib.* His farcical processions, *ib.* His observations, before the senate of Seleucia, on the obscene books found in the baggage

of the Romans, *ib.* Orodes and Artavasdes are reconciled, 496. The Bacchæ of Euripides acted before them, *ib.* A comical incident on the presenting of Crassus' head, 497.

Crassus, Publius, son of Marcus Crassus, goes into mourning on Cicero's banishment, iii. 466. Reconciles Cicero and his father, *ib.* His spirit and valour in the Parthian war, 484. His behaviour when surrounded, 485. Commands his armour-bearer to kill him, *ib.* The Parthians cut off his head, put it on the point of a spear, and insultingly ask Crassus, 'who could be the father of so gallant a young man,' *ib.* 486.

———, Publius Licinius, father to the wife of Caius Gracchus, v. 221, 222.

———, the application of Fabius Maximus to him, ii. 102, 103.

Crastinus, or *Crassinus*, Caius saluted by Cæsar in the morning of the battle of Pharsalia, iv. 216, 217. Begins the action, 217. Falls, after prodigious efforts of valour, *ib.*

Craterus, his collection of Athenian decrees, iii. 312.

———, and Antipater, two of Alexander's successors, after having reduced Greece, pass into Asia, iv. 43. He is greatly beloved by the Macedonians, *ib.* He and Neoptolemus march against Eumenes, 45. Both killed in the ensuing action, 47. Disputes which had happened long before between Craterus and Hephæstion, 313. Account of his going from Asia into Greece, v. 30.

Crates, the philosopher, persuades Demetrius to raise the siege of Athens, v. 413.

Cratesiclea, mother of Cleomenes, v. 160. Goes into Egypt, in hopes of serving her country, 178. Her sorrow for her son's death, 196. Her intrepid behaviour and death, *ib.*

Cratesipolis, wife of Alexander the son of Polyperchon, her amour with Demetrius, v. 371.

Cratinus, verses of his, ii. 6. iii. 307.

Cratippus, the philosopher, does not exert himself in defence of providence against Pompey after his fall, iv. 223. A Peripatetic, v. 321. The favours Cicero did him, *ib.*

Crausis, the father of Philopœmen, iii. 2.

†*Cremona*, vi. 251.

Creon, Demosthenes bids 'Archias act the part of Creon in the tragedy,' v. 288.

†*Cretans*, send a number of their first-born to Delphi, i. 16. Their simple and temperate way of living, 128. From them Lycurgus drew his model, *ib.* Their dece it, iii. 213. Their archers, iv. 160.

†*Crete*, the tribute the ancient Athenians paid to it, i. 16.

Creticus, the surname of Mark Antony's father, v. 425.

†*Crimesus*, river, ii. 261.

Crispinus, collegue of Marcellus, ii. 435. Wounded by a party of Numidians, *ib.* Dies of his wounds, *ib.*

———, husband of Poppæa, vi. 229.

———, an officer in Otho's army, vi. 245, 246.

Critias, son of Callæschrus, instrumental in recalling Alcibiades

from exile, ii. 162. Afterward one of the Thirty Tyrants, and advises Lysander to procure the death of Alcibiades, *ib. n.* 171. Slain by Thrasybulus, 162, *n.*

Critolaïdas, one of the Spartan arbitrators, between the Athenians and Megarensians, i. 230.

Crobylas the orator, says, 'war cannot be kept to any set diet,' v. 271.

Crœsus, his conversation with Solon, i. 261, 262.

† *Crommyon*, a wild sow killed there by Theseus, i. 10.

Cronius, the same with the month 'Hecatombeon,' i. 13.

† *Crotonians*, part of the spoils taken at Arbela, sent them by Alexander, iv. 295.

Crow stunned and struck down by the exclamations of the people, iii. 44. iv. 156.

† *Crustumerium*, i. 76.

Cryptia, or ambuscade of the Spartans, a cruel manner of destroying the Helots when thought too numerous, i. 154, 155.

Ctesius, physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon, a fabulous writer, vi. 115, 128, 129.

Ctesibius, v. 256.

Ctesippus, the son of Chabrias, v. 9, 269.

† *Ctesium*, iii. 304.

Culleo advises Pompey to divorce Julia, and exchange Cæsar's friendship for that of the senate, iv. 187.

† *Cuma* in Asia Minor, i. 348.

† *Cumæans*, iv. 429, and *n.*

† *Cunaxa*, battle of. See *Battle.*

Cup, Laconian, the fashion of it. See *Cothon.*

† *Cures*, the capital of the Sabines, i. 82. Thence the Romans called Quirites, 81, 82.

Curetes, i. 233.

Curiæ, or wards, ten in each tribe at Rome, i. 67, *n.* 83.

Curio, one of the officers in Sylla's army, takes the citadel of Athens, to which the tyrant Aristion had retired, iii. 251.

——, the tribune, gained by Cæsar who pays his immense debts, iv. 199, 200. Demands that either Pompey should dismiss his forces, or Cæsar be suffered to keep his, 200. Makes equitable proposals in Cæsar's name, *ib.* 201. Screens and saves Cæsar when in danger of being killed going from the senate-house after the debates about Catiline, 365. The advice he gives Cato, v. 62. His exhibitions when ædile, 96. The ruin of Antony, 426.

Curius, Manius, Cato admires his frugal manner of living, ii. 494. Pyrrhus defeated by him, iii. 102, 103.

Curses. See *Imprecations.*

Curtian Lake, i. 79.

Curtius, an illustrious Sabine, i. 78, 79.

† *Cussæans*, almost the whole nation sacrificed to the *manes* of Hephæstion, iv. 347.

Cutlass, used by the Heroes of the early ages to carve with, i. 13, *n.*

† *Cyanean*, or Chaledonian islands, iii. 312.
Cybele the mother of the gods, warns Themistocles of an attempt against his life, i. 355. On which account he dedicates a temple to her, *ib.*
Cybernesia, or festival of pilots, i. 19.
Cybisthus, adopted son of Thales, i. 226.
Cychreus, of Salamis, worshipped by the Athenians, i. 11. Father-in-law of Sciron, *ib.*
† *Cyclades*, iii. 246.
Cycnus, killed in single combat by Hercules, i. 12.
† *Cydnus*, it's water extremely cold; Alexander's sickness the consequence of bathing in it, iv. 267. v. 449.
Cylarabis, a place of exercise near the gates of Argos, iii. 113. v. 172.
Cylinder, within a sphere, ordered by Archimedes to be put upon his monument, ii. 414.
Cylon, the history of him and his accomplices, i. 231, 232.
Cynægirus, ii. 534.
Cynisca, sister to Agesilaus, he persuades her to contend for the prize of the chariot-race at the Olympic games, to show the Greeks how trifling all ambition of that kind was, iv. 94.
Cynosarges, the place of exercise without the city of Athens, i. 311.
† *Cynoscephalæ*, i. 36. iii. 39.
† *Cyprus*, submits to Alexander, iv. 276. The money Cato raised there, v. 87.
Cypselus, vi. 155.
Cyrbes, the tables on which Solon wrote his laws, i. 255.
† *Cyrenians*, iii. 2. v. 105, 187.
† *Cyrrhestica*, v. 416.
† *Cyrnus*, river, iv. 168.
Cyrus, whence the name, vi. 114.
——, the Great, why he releases Crœsus, i. 262, 263. His epitaph, iv. 342, 343.
——, son of Darius, and brother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, vi. 114. His attention to his concubine Aspasia, 145. Supplies Lysander with money, iii. 191. Conspires against the king his brother, vi. 116, 117. His vaunting offers to the Lacedæmonians, 119. Levies war against Artaxerxes, 120. Entertains Clearchus and other Greeks in his service, *ib.* Is killed in battle, 125.
† *Cythera*, isle of, iii. 406. iv. 111. v. 187.
Cytheris, an actress, Antony's mistress, v. 434.
† *Cyzicum*, besieged by Mithridates, iii. 338. Taken by Alcibiades, ii. 156.

D.

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Dædalus, his flight, i. 21.

Dædalus of Sicyon, a great sculptor, i. 23, *n.*
Dæmon, or Genius of Socrates, gives him instructions and warnings, ii. 136. iii. 419.
Dæmons, beings of a middle nature, between the divine and the human, i. 99.
Dasius, or *Dæsius*, one of the Macedonian months, iv. 261.
Damachus, what he said of a phenomenon in the air, iii. 201, 202.
† *Damascus*, surrendered to Alexander, iv. 275.
Damastes, otherwise called *Procrustes*, the cruelties he exercised, i. 12. Killed by Theseus, *ib.*
Damoclides, assists Pelopidas in restoring liberty to Thebes, ii. 349.
Damon, remarkable for his skill in music and politics, ii. 7. Supposed to advise Pericles in the administration, *ib.* Banished on that account, *ib.* iii. 405.
———, surnamed Peripoltas, iii. 293.
———, the Pæanean, v. 285.
Damoteles, corrupted by Antigonus, contributes to the defeat of Cleomenes, v. 185.
Damyrias, river, ii. 268.
Danaüs, iii. 114.
Dance of the Caryatides, why so called, vi. 133, and *n.* Was the impression of Clearchus' ring, 133. Of the Delians in imitation of the mazes of the Labyrinth, i. 23, 24. Still exists in Greece, 24, *n.*
Dances, part of Numa's religious ceremonies, i. 178.
Dandamis, the Indian philosopher, what he said of the Grecian philosophers, iv. 338.
† *Danube*, ii. 292. Water brought thence to the repositories of the king of Persia, to show the extent of his dominions, iv. 298.
Daochus, v. 272.
Daphne, daughter of Amyclas, transformed into a laurel, v. 142.
† *Dardanians*, ii. 292.
Dardanus, carries the Samothracian gods to Troy, i. 386.
———, armour-bearer to Brutus, vi. 105, 106.
† ———, in Troas, iii. 265.
† *Dardarians*, iii. 348.
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——— *Nothus*, his children by Parysatis, vi. 114. Was inclined to destroy Statira with her brother, 115.

Darius, the elder son of Artaxerxes, vi. 144. Declared successor to the throne, and permitted to wear the point of his turban upright, *ib.* According to the custom of the Persians, his first request to be granted, and he asks Aspasia, *ib.* His father gives her to him, but afterward consecrates her to Diana Anytis, 145, 146. He conspires against his father at the instigation of Tiribazus, 146, 147. Is taken and capitally punished, 148.

† *Dascylitis*, lake of, iii. 339.

† *Dassaretii*, their country, iii. 34.

Datis, the king of Persia's general, arrives at Marathon, and ravages the country, ii. 451.

Day, a white day, why so called, ii. 41.

Days, auspicious and inauspicious, i. 385. iii. 366.

Dead, a law against speaking ill of them, i. 248.

Death, Æsop thought it most unfortunate in time of prosperity, but Plutarch is of a different opinion, ii. 384, 385. A sudden death preferred to any other by Cæsar, iv. 431. A cowardly thing to run into the arms of it, v. 188.

Debts, public, a security to the prince, iv. 57.

Decas, a place of execution in the prison at Sparta, v. 152.

† *Decelea*, ii. 145, iii. 197, 222.

Decency, ii. 521.

Decimation, an ancient military punishment revived by Crassus, iii. 460. Put in practice by Antony, v. 463, 464.

Decius Brutus, leads Cæsar to the senate the day he was despatched, iv. 432, 433.

Deïdamia, married to Pirithoüs, i. 38.

————, sister of Pyrrhus, iii. 66. Married to Demetrius the son of Antigonus, 69. v. 388. Her death, iii. 73. v. 396.

Deïmachus, father of Autolycus, iii. 359.

Deïoneus, i. 10. Marries Perigune, the daughter of Sinnis, *ib.*

Deïotarus, king of Galatia, his answer to Crassus, who told him he began to build late in the day, iii. 470, 471. Taken in Peticius' ship after the battle of Pharsalia, iv. 220. Cato's visit to him, v. 62. He goes over from Antony to Augustus, v. 486.

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† *Delium*, ii. 121. iii. 226, 406.

Dellius, the historian, v. 483. Quits Antony, *ib.* Sent by Antony to Cleopatra, v. 448.

† *Delos*, i. 23. ii. 20. iii. 401.

† *Delphi*, i. 16, *et passim.*

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Demades, the Athenian orator, v. 2. Ruins his country by espousing the Macedonian interest, *ib.* Blames Phocion for sending his son to Sparta, 25. His observation on the news of Alexander's death, 26. Proposes to treat with Antipater, 30. Gets his money ill, and spends it profusely, 36. His saying to his son, *ib.* His letter to Antigonus, in which he tells him that

'Macedon hung only on an old rotten stalk,' 37. That letter intercepted causes his and his son's death, *ib.* 290. He used to assist Demosthenes in his pleadings; as he spoke better extempore than that orator, 260. Goes embassador to Alexander the Great, 280. The divine vengeance hunts him down for the death of Demosthenes, 290. Cassander, the son of Antipater, kills him, *ib.* To what he compared the army after Alexander's death, vi. 211.

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Demagoras, master of a Rhodian galley, iii. 331.

Demaratus of Corinth, a saying of his, and Plutarch's reflexion upon it, iv. 88, 299, 300. Reconciles Philip and Alexander, 253. Sees Alexander seated on the throne of Persia; his behaviour thereupon, 299, 300. His death and magnificent funeral, 325.

——— of Rhodes, released by Alexander at the intercession of Phocion, v. 23.

——— the Spartan, incenses the king of Persia, but that prince is reconciled to him at the request of Themistocles, i. 353.

Demaretus, a Corinthian officer under Timoleon, ii. 257, 261, 262.

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Demeas, son of Demades, killed in his father's presence, v. 37, 290.

† *Demetrias*, iii. 43. v. 318, 421. vi. 216.

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———, Pompey's freedman, the preparations made for his reception at Antioch, v. 60, 61. His house and gardens, iv. 176. His insolence, 175. v. 61.

———, a servant of Cassius, vi. 100.

———, son of Demetrius, surnamed 'the Slender,' v. 421.

———, son of Demetrius, prince of Cyrene, v. 421.

——— *Pheidon* accuses Callisthenes to Alexander, iv. 323.

———, the Peripatetic, a friend of Cato's, v. 116.

——— *Phalereus*, governor of Athens for Cassander, v. 370. Statues erected to his honour, i. 26, *n.* Generously treated by Demetrius Poliorcetes, v. 370, 371. The character he gave of Demosthenes' orations, 262.

——— of Phariæ, his advice to Philip, vi. 205, 206.

———, son of Antigonus Gonatas, ii. 289.

DEMETRIUS *Poliorcetes*, son of Antigonus and Stratonice, v. 364. Inimitably beautiful in his person, and a most agreeable companion, *ib.* 365. Attentive to his pleasures and yet very diligent and expeditious when business called, 365. Remarkably affectionate to his father, *ib.* Instance of the happy terms on which they lived, *ib.* Antigonus intending to destroy one of his courtiers named Mithridates, on account of a dream, Demetrius ad-

vertises him of that intention, 366. Antigonus, while he resides in Phrygia, is informed of Ptolemy's invasion of Syria, and sends his son Demetrius against him, though only twenty-two years of age, 367. Demetrius is defeated near Gaza; but Ptolemy sends him back his military chest and equipage, *ib.* Behaves with spirit under his loss, 368. Defeats Cilles, Ptolemy's general, and requites the generosity of Ptolemy, by returning the spoils, *ib.* Demetrius is sent against the Nabathæan Arabs, and though he does not subdue them, brings off considerable booty, *ib.* Passes the Euphrates, while Seleucus is upon his Indian expedition, takes one of the castles of Babylon, and lays waste the country, 369. Obliges Ptolemy to retire from the siege of Halicarnassus, *ib.* Antigonus and Demetrius form the design of setting Athens free from the yoke of Cassander and Ptolemy, *ib.* Demetrius sails thither with five thousand talents of silver, and two hundred and fifty ships, and, upon proclaiming liberty, is received with joy, 370. He gives Demetrius the Phalerean, who commanded there for Cassander, a safe conduct to Thebes, *ib.* 371. Surrounds the fort of Munychia with a ditch and rampart, and sails to Megara, where Cassander had another garrison, 371. His adventure with Cratesipolis near Patræ, *ib.* He dislodges the garrison of Megara, and declares the city free, *ib.* His attention to Stilpo the philosopher, *ib.* 372. Returns to the siege of Munychia, takes and demolishes it, 372. Enters Athens at the request of the citizens, re-establishes the commonwealth, promises them a large supply of wheat, and timber enough to build a hundred gallies, *ib.* Their extreme servility and adulation to Demetrius and Antigonus, *ib.* Stratocles the principal instrument of that profane adulation, 373. The gods announce their displeasure at this profaneness, 374. Dromoclides finishes all by a decree that the Athenians should consult the oracle of Demetrius, 375. Demetrius marries Eurydice, a descendent of the ancient Miltiades, 376. An account of his marrying Phila, the daughter of Antipater, *ib.* Has more wives and mistresses than any Grecian prince of his time, *ib.* Defeats Menelaüs, the brother of Ptolemy, at Cyprus, 377. Fights a great battle at sea with Ptolemy himself, and beats him, *ib.* Ptolemy flies with eight ships only, *ib.* On this occasion the celebrated Lamia falls into the hands of Demetrius, *ib.* The city of Salamis, and the land-forces of Ptolemy, are surrendered to him, 378. He sets the prisoners free, *ib.* Sends twelve hundred suits of armour to the Athenians, *ib.* Sends Aristodemus to his father, with the news of his victory, *ib.* Aristodemus trifles vilely with Antigonus' impatience; but being the first to salute him king, the people accept the title, *ib.* 379. Antigonus sends the diadem also to Demetrius, 379. Antigonus miscarries in an expedition against Ptolemy, 380. Being now little short of eighty, leaves the military department to his son, *ib.* Takes no offence at his son's debaucheries, *ib.* Demetrius has a fertile invention in mechanics, and there is something peculiarly great both in the construction of his ships and engines, 381. Goes to

war with the Rhodians, on account of their alliance with Ptolemy, 382. In the course of it, brings the largest of his *helepoles* up to the walls, *ib.* The 'helepoles' described, *ib.* 383. The Athenians negotiate a peace between him and the Rhodians, 385. Call him to the defence of Athens against Cassander, *ib.* He drives Cassander out of Attica, and defeats him at Thermopylæ, *ib.* Heraclea voluntarily submits, and he receives into his army six thousand Macedonians, who revolt from Cassander, *ib.* Proclaims liberty to the Greeks within the straits of Thermopylæ, and receives the Bœotians into his alliance, *ib.* Makes himself master of Cenchreæ, Phyle, and Panactus, *ib.* Puts the two latter into the hands of the Athenians again, *ib.* The Athenians, very improperly, lodge him in the Parthenon, 386. His debaucheries there, *ib.* One instance of virtue is found in Athens, *ib.* He reduces that part of the country called Acte in Peloponnesus, and all Arcadia, except Mantinea, 387. Sets Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth, free, *ib.* Marries Deïdamia, the sister of Pyrrhus, 388. Is proclaimed general of all Greece, *ib.* Assumes the title of King of Kings, *ib.* Demetrius insists on being admitted immediately, at his return, both to the Less and the Greater Mysteries; and the Athenians, contrary to all the rules, comply, 389. He commands them to raise two hundred and fifty talents, and then gives his money to his mistresses to buy soap, 390. The extravagant expenses of Lamia, *ib.* She is called one of his 'helepoles,' *ib.* Demo, another of his mistresses, is called 'Mania,' 391. Demetrius is called home to the assistance of his father, against whom the other successors of Alexander had united, *ib.* 392. The great preparations of their enemies, 392. Antigonus recommends Demetrius to the army, as his successor, *ib.* Omens of their defeat, 393. Demetrius puts Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, to flight; but by going unseasonably upon the pursuit, loses the victory, *ib.* Antigonus' troops desert to Seleucus, and Antigonus is slain, *ib.* Demetrius flies to Ephesus, and, although in want of money, spares the temple of Diana, 394. Embarks for Greece, where his principal dependence is upon the Athenians, *ib.* Their embassadors meet him near the Cyclades, and tell him, 'they will receive no king into their city,' *ib.* This ingratitude of theirs cuts him to the heart, *ib.* Gets his gallies from their ports, and steers for the isthmus, where he finds the cities of Greece all inclined to revolt, 395. Sails to the Chersonese, whence he ravages the dominions of Lysimachus, *ib.* Seleucus makes proposals of marriage to Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius, *ib.* Demetrius sails with his daughter, and by the way makes a descent on Cilicia, 396. Brings off twelve hundred talents from Quinda, which had been the property of his father, *ib.* Meets Seleucus at Orossus, and they entertain each other in a princely manner, *ib.* Demetrius seizes the province of Cilicia, *ib.* Is contracted to Ptolemaïs, the daughter of Ptolemy. Seleucus demands Cilicia of him; and on his refusing that, insists on having the cities of Tyre and Sidon, *ib.* 397. Demetrius puts stronger garrisons into those cities, *ib.* His

operations before Athens, which was now in the possession of the tyrant Lachares, *ib.* 393. He reduces it by famine, 398. Pardons the Athenians, and gives them a large supply of bread-corn, 399. In the joy of their hearts, they deliver up to him the Piræus and Munychia, *ib.* He puts a garrison, likewise, into the Museum, *ib.* Forms a design upon Lacedæmon, and defeats Archidamus; but is called from that scheme by news of the loss of his cities in Asia, and of all Cyprus except Salamis, *ib.* 400. The troubles in Macedon call him thither, 400. He establishes himself in that country, after having killed Alexander, the son of Cassander, 401. Ptolemy releases the wife and children of Demetrius, 402. Erasistratus, physician to Seleucus, discovers that Antiochus is desperately in love with Stratonice, and Seleucus give her up to him, and declares them king and queen of the Upper Provinces, 403, 404. Demetrius, whose dominions were now very extensive, takes Thebes, and reduces the rest of Bœotia, 404, 405. Makes a moderate use of his victory, 405. During an expedition of his into Thrace, the Bœotians revolt again, *ib.* He leaves his son Antigonus to besiege Thebes, and marches against Pyrrhus, who had over-run all Thessaly, *ib.* Pyrrhus retires, *ib.* Demetrius returns to the siege of Thebes, *ib.* He takes it, and puts only thirteen of the citizens to death, 406. The Ætolians, being in possession of the passes to Delphi, he celebrates the Pythian games at Athens, *ib.* Marches against the Ætolians, *ib.* Leaves Pantauchus in Ætolia, and moves against Pyrrhus, *ib.* Pyrrhus falls upon Pantauchus, and defeats him, 407. The Macedonians admire the valour of Pyrrhus, and despise Demetrius for his vanity of dress, *ib.* Extraordinary instance of that vanity, *ib.* They are offended also at his dissolute life, and difficulty of access, *ib.* He throws the petitions of the people into the river, 408. During his sickness at Pella, Pyrrhus enters Macedon, and advances as far as Edessa, 409. He comes to terms with Pyrrhus, *ib.* Makes great preparations for recovering all his father's dominions, *ib.* The vast size of his gallies, *ib.* The kings attack him in several quarters, 410. Pyrrhus takes Berœa, and the Macedonians revolt to him, *ib.* 411. Demetrius quits his royal robe, and flies, after having held Macedonia seven years, 411. Goes first to Cassandria, where his wife Phila, in her despair, takes poison, 411, 412. Repairs to Greece, and collects an army, 412. The Athenians revolt from him again, 413. He lays siege to Athens, but is persuaded by Crates the philosopher to raise it, *ib.* Sails to Asia with his forces, *ib.* Eurydice brings him Ptolemaïs, who had been contracted to him some time, *ib.* He takes Sardis, and other places in Ionia, *ib.* Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, comes against him, and he moves into Phrygia, *ib.* Demetrius has the better in skirmishes, but Agathocles cuts off his convoys, *ib.* He designs to march toward Armenia, but is prevented by famine and pestilence amongst his troops, 414. Marches down to Tarsus, and applies to his son-in-law Seleucus for relief, *ib.* Seleucus at first relieves him, but soon afterward commences hostilities

against him, *ib.* 415. Demetrius ravages the country, and gains several advantages over Seleucus, 415. Long sickness proves a great hindrance to his affairs, 416. He passes mount Amanus, and Seleucus follows, *ib.* Is near taking Seleucus by surprise, *ib.* Seleucus offers him battle, and his troops revolt to that prince, *ib.* 417. He hides himself a while in a wood upon Mount Amanus, in hopes of making his way to Caunus, 417. Finds that impracticable, and surrenders to Seleucus, *ib.* Seleucus at first is very favourably inclined to him, but fearing his practices upon the army, keeps him a prisoner at large in the Syrian Chersonese, 418. Allows him, however, a princely table, and other comforts in his confinement, 419. Demetrius orders his friends in Greece not to trust his letters, or his seal, *ib.* His son Antigonus makes Seleucus an offer of all his estates, and promises to deliver up himself an hostage, to procure his father's liberty, *ib.* Demetrius attends for a time to the exercises of hunting and running, but leaves them by degrees, and sinks into indolence and inactivity, *ib.* Drinking and play succeed, *ib.* 420. After three years' confinement, he dies at the age of fifty-four, 420. Antigonus receives his remains at sea, and conducts them with great funeral pomp to Corinth, *ib.* Thence they are carried to Demetrias, and deposited in that city, 421. An account of the issue he left, *ib.* His posterity fill the throne of Macedon down to Perseus, who was conquered by the Romans, *ib.*

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Demosthenes, the Athenian general, repulsed in Ætolia, iii. 406. Fortifies himself in Pylos, 407. Sent with a numerous fleet to assist Nicias in Sicily, 430. The magnificence of his arrival, 431. Determined to attack the Syracusans immediately, *ib.* Assaults Epipolæ, 432. Is surrounded in the final retreat of the Athenians, and stabs himself, 440. Different accounts of his death, 443.

————, father of the orator, was called 'the Sword-cutler,' v. 253.

Demosthenes, the orator, the great resemblance between him and Cicero, v. 253. His father Demosthenes, kept many slaves at work on the business of a sword-cutler, *ib.* His mother was Cleobule, the daughter of Gylon, *ib.* At the age of seven he loses his father, who leaves him a considerable fortune, 254. Greatly wronged by his guardians, *ib.* Of a sickly habit, and gets the contemptuous name of 'Batalus,' amongst the boys, *ib.* Has also the name of 'Argas,' *ib.* His ambition to speak in public from the success of Callistratus, and the admiration in which that orator was holden, 255. Takes Isæus for his preceptor in eloquence, in preference to Isocrates, 256. Studies, also, under Plato, *ib.* Goes to law with his guardians, and pleads his own cause, 257. Attempts to speak in the public debates; but fails through the violence of his manner, and the weakness and stammering of his voice, 258. Encouraged by an old man, named Eunomus, *ib.* Instructed in pronunciation and action by Satyrus the player, 259. Builds himself a subterraneous study, and shaves one side of his head that he may not quit his study till his hair is grown, *ib.* Pytheas tells him, 'his arguments smell of the lamp,' 260. Demosthenes' answer, *ib.* He seldom speaks extempore, *ib.* Yet without premeditation answers Python the Byzantian, and Lamachus the Myrrhenean, on two very signal occasions, 261. In what respect he took Pericles for his model, *ib.* He is called by the comic writers 'Rhopoperperethras,' 262. Theophrastus' judgement concerning Demosthenes and Demades, 263. What Demosthenes said of Phocion, *ib.* Corrects his stammering by speaking with pebbles in his mouth, and strengthens his voice by speaking as he ran up hill, *ib.* 264. His repartees, 264. Embarks in the administration in the time of Phocion, 265. Implacable in his resentments; yet drops his prosecution against Midias, *ib.* Has a glorious subject for his political ambition, the defence of Greece against Philip, 266. Most of his orations written upon the principle of honour and virtue being preferable to all other considerations, 267. Neither has courage to be trusted in the field, nor is sufficiently fortified against the impressions of money, *ib.* 268. Yet excels all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and conversation, 268. Has the spirit to accuse Antipho before the Areopagus, after he had been acquitted by the people, *ib.* Prepares orations for two adversaries on each side of the question, *ib.* Account of some other orations of his, 269. Goes with nine other deputies to the court of Philip, and that prince answers the

speech of Demosthenes with the greatest care, 270. His reply to his collegues, who praised Philip, *ib.* He persuades the Athenians to drive the Macedonians out of Eubœa, and to send succours to the Byzantines and Perinthians, 271. Goes embassador to the states of Greece, and persuades most of them to join in the league against Philip, *ib.* Philip surprises Elatea, and possesses himself of Phocis, 272. Notwithstanding these advantages, Demosthenes, by his eloquence, brings the Thebans to declare against him, *ib.* 273. Philip sends embassadors to Athens to apply for peace, but by some fatality he is not listened to, *ib.* Oracles announce the downfall of Greece, *ib.* Demosthenes has great confidence in the Grecian arms, 274; yet, in the battle of Chæronea, throws away his arms, and flies, *ib.* Philip commits many excesses, in contempt of Demosthenes, *ib.* 275. Demosthenes received large remittances from the king of Persia, 275. Many accusations are lodged against him at Athens, but the people continue him at the helm notwithstanding, *ib.* 276. He pronounces the funeral oration of those who fell in the late battle, *ib.* Philip dies soon afterward, and the Athenians vote a crown for Pausanias his assassin, *ib.* Demosthenes appears with a garland on his head, though it was only the seventh day after his daughter's death, *ib.* 277. The confederates unite again, and the Thebans attack the Macedonian garrison in their citadel, 278. Demosthenes represents Alexander as a mere boy, *ib.* Alexander takes the city of Thebes, *ib.* He commands the Athenians to deliver up their orators, 279. Demosthenes tells the people the fable of the sheep delivering up their dogs to the wolves, *ib.* Demades procures a pardon for the orators and the city, 280. The walls of Athens rebuilt by Demosthenes at his own expense, *ib. n.* The great cause concerning 'the Crown' is determined in favour of Demosthenes, 280, 281. Æschines retires to Rhodes, 281. Harpalus carries off Alexander's treasures from Babylon, and brings them to Athens, *ib.* Demosthenes advises the people not to receive him; but afterwards suffers himself to be bribed by Harpalus, *ib.* 282. Sentenced by the court of Areopagus, to imprisonment and a fine of fifty talents, for taking the bribe, 283. Flies from Athens, *ib.* The generosity of some of his adversaries on his quitting the city, *ib.* Bears his exile in a very effeminate manner, *ib.* Resides, for the most part, in Ægina or Trœzene, *ib.* Advises the young men, who resorted to him for instruction, not to meddle with affairs of state, 284. Alexander dies, *ib.* The Greek cities once more combine, and Antipater is besieged by Leosthenes in Lamia, *ib.* Demosthenes joins the Athenian deputies in their applications to the Greeks to renew the war, *ib.* He is recalled, and a galley sent to fetch him from Ægina, 285. All the citizens go to meet him in the Piræus, *ib.* His saying upon it, *ib.* They find means for his evading his fine, *ib.* He has but short enjoyment of his return, *ib.* Antipater and Craterus approaching Athens, Demosthenes and his party fly, and a capital sentence is passed upon them, at the motion of Demades, *ib.* 286. Archias 'the exile-hunter' is sent out after

them by Antipater, *ib.* He finds Demosthenes in the temple of Neptune in Calauria, and endeavours to persuade him to quit it, 287. Demosthenes takes poison, which he carried in a pen, *ib.* Dies on the most mournful day of the Thesmophoria, 289. The Athenians erect his statue in brass, *ib.* The inscription upon it, *ib.* The divine vengeance pursues Demades for the death of Demosthenes, 290. What Cicero said of his orations, 321.

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Eudoxus, the first who applied geometry to mechanical purposes, ii. 408.
Euergetes. See *Ptolemy Euergetes*.
Evius, one of the names of Bacchus, ii. 424.
——— the musician, iv. 39.
Eumenes, king of Pergamus, honours paid him at Rome by all but Cato the Censor, ii. 503.
EUMENES, a native of Cardia in the Thracian Chersonese, said by some to be the son of a poor waggoner; but more probably the son of a person with whom Philip, king of Macedon, had connexions of hospitality, iv. 38. Philip is pleased with his performances in the public exercises, and takes him into his train, *ib.* Secretary to Alexander the Great, *ib.* Upon the death of Hephæstion, and the promotion of Perdiccas, succeeds Perdiccas in his command of cavalry, *ib.* Alexander honours him with his alliance, by giving him Barsine, 39. Hephæstion takes his quarters from him, and gives them to a musician, *ib.* Eumenes reports it to Alexander, but only does himself harm by complaining of a favourite, *ib.* Alexander wanting to fit out a fleet, asks Eumenes for three hundred talents: Eumenes excuses himself, and Alexander burns his tent; upon which great treasures are found melted down, *ib.* 40. He continues Eumenes as his secretary notwithstanding, 40. Another dispute between Eumenes and Hephæstion, *ib.* Hephæstion dies, and Eumenes exerts all his art to celebrate his memory, *ib.* Upon the death of Alexander, a dispute arises between the late king's friends and the phalanx, *ib.* Eumenes pretends to stand neuter, but privately takes part with the phalanx, *ib.* 41. On the division of Alexander's dominions, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia are assigned to Eumenes, 41. Leonatus and Antigonus are appointed to put him in possession, *ib.* Antigonus despises the commission, *ib.* Eumenes gets Leonatus' secret from him as to his designs on Macedon, and flies with it to Perdiccas, *ib.* 42. Perdiccas establishes him in Cappadocia, *ib.* Perdiccas is desirous that Eumenes should secure the adjoining province of Armenia against the practices of Neoptolemus, *ib.* 43. Eumenes raises, and trains, a body of cavalry to be a counterpoise against the Macedonian infantry, 43. Craterus and Antipater pass into

Asia, to humble Perdiccas, *ib.* Their first design is upon Eumenes and Cappadocia, *ib.* Meantime Neoptolemus falls upon him with the Macedonian phalanx, but is defeated, *ib.* 44. Craterus and Neoptolemus advance against Eumenes, 45. Eumenes fights them, and yet finds means to conceal from his troops that they had to act against Craterus, *ib.* His dream previous to the battle, *ib.* He kills both Craterus and Neoptolemus, the latter with his own hand, 47, 48. Weeps over Craterus, 48. The Macedonians, upon the death of Craterus, who was their particular favourite, resolve upon the death of Eumenes, and desire Antigonus and Antipater to take the direction of the war, *ib.* Eumenes takes some of the king's horses from Mount Ida, and gives a receipt for them, *ib.* Intends to make Lydia the seat of war, but at the request of Cleopatra, winters in the Upper Phrygia, *ib.* 49. Alcetas and others contend with him for the command, 49. His saying upon it, *ib.* Not having money to pay his troops, he appoints the officers castles and lands, out of which they were to pay their men, *ib.* By this he gains the hearts of the Macedonians, so that they discourage all treasonable attempts against him, and appoint him a strong guard, *ib.* He distributes among them the badges of honour, which they used to receive from their kings, 50. Loses a battle to Antigonus, by the treachery of one of his officers; but hangs the traitor, and by an artful movement returns to the field of battle, *ib.* Passes by an opportunity to take Antigonus' baggage, *ib.* 51. Retires to the castle of Nora, with only five hundred horse and two hundred foot, 52. His answer to Antigonus, who proposes a conference, *ib.* The castle affords only corn, water, and salt; yet Eumenes furnishes out an agreeable entertainment to his friends, 53. His person and manners described, *ib.* His invention for exercising the horses as well as men, *ib.* 54. Antigonus proposes terms of peace to Eumenes on condition of his taking an oath he proposed, 54. Eumenes makes an alteration in the oath, but obtains his liberty, by the siege of Nora being raised, *ib.* Olympias invites him into Macedon, in order to his taking the tuition of Alexander's son, 55. Philip Arrhidæus, and Polyperchon, impower him to take what sums he pleased out of the royal treasures at Quinda, to enable him to carry on the war against Antigonus, *ib.* They, likewise, order Antigenes and Teutamus to support him with the Argyraspides, *ib.* These officers being unwilling to submit to Eumenes, he pretends that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and ordered them to erect a royal pavilion, and place in it a throne of gold which was to be honoured with their obedience, *ib.* 56. He is joined by Peucestas and other governors of provinces, 56. The inconveniences he experiences from those governors, *ib.* He borrows money of the heads of the army, to prevent their conspiring against his life, 57. On the approach of an enemy, all the grandees and officers give him the first place, *ib.* He defeats Antigonus, on his attempt to pass the Pasitigris, *ib.* Peucestas feasts the army, and hopes to be indulged with the

command; but on the appearance of Antigonus and his troops, they call for Eumenes, though he was sick and carried in a litter, 58 Antigonus no sooner spies the litter moving from rank to rank, than he sounds a retreat, *ib.* 59. The Macedonians again grow mutinous, and spread themselves all over the province of Gabene, *ib.* 60. Antigonus marches against them; but the cold is so intense, that he is forced to light many fires, which discover his motions, 60. Eumenes undertakes to retard his march, till the troops could be assembled, and effects it by a stratagem, *ib.* 61. The chiefs of the Argyraspides agree with other officers to make use of Eumenes in the ensuing battle, and afterward to assassinate him, 61. This plot is discovered to him by persons to whom he owed money, *ib.* He makes his will, and destroys his other papers, 62. The veterans beat Antigonus' infantry; but his cavalry in the mean time take their baggage, *ib.* Antigonus offers to restore the Argyraspides their baggage, on condition that they would put Eumenes in his hands, 63. His speech to the Macedonians before he is delivered up, *ib.* 64. His conversation with his keeper during his imprisonment, 65. His death, *ib.*

Eumenides. See *Furies.*

Eumolpidæ, had the direction of the mysteries of Ceres, ii. 144, and *n.* Ordered to absolve Alcibiades, 163.

Euneos, one of Theseus' companions in his expedition against the Amazons, i. 33.

Eunomus, the father of Lycurgus, i. 111. Killed by a kitchen-knife, 112.

———, the Thriasian, advises Demosthenes not to be discouraged by his ill success in his first attempts to speak in public, v. 258.

Eunus, a fugitive slave, stirs up the servile war in Sicily, iii. 283. Dies of the Lousy Disease, *ib.*

Euphorion, said by some writers to be the father of Solon, i. 218.

Euphranor, prepares the scaling-ladders for Aratus, vi. 157.

Euphrantides, the diviner, advises the sacrificing of the three children of Xerxes' sister Sandace, to Bacchus Omestes, i. 332.

†*Euphrates* river, iii. 361.

Euphronius, tutor to Antony's children by Cleopatra, sent embassador to Augustus, v. 495.

Eupolemus, son of the tyrant Icetes, taken and put to death, ii. 269.

Eupolia, second wife of Archidamus, and mother of Agesilaus, iv. 70.

Eupolis, iii. 315, 403, *n.*

Euripides, i. 5, 26, *n.* 37. His ode in praise of Alcibiades, ii. 124, 125. His epitaph on the Athenians, iii. 426. One of his verses saves Athens from being destroyed by Lysander and the confederate Greeks, 206. His verses save the lives of many Athenians in Sicily, 444. Mariners of Caunus admitted into port in

Sicily, because they could repeat some of his verses, *ib.* His tomb struck by lightning, and by that supposed to be rendered sacred, i. 162.

†*Eurotas* river, i. 129. iv. 93, 115.

Eurybiades, admiral of the confederate fleet against the Persians, charged with want of courage, i. 328. Offers to strike Themistocles, 329.

Eurycles, the Syracusan orator, proposes to send the Athenians to the quarries, and to put their two generals to death, iii. 442, 443.

———, the Lacedæmonian, commands a ship for Augustus against Antony, v. 490. What he said to Antony, *ib.*

Euryclidas, sent by Cleomenes to the Ephori, v. 162.

Eurydice, descended from Miltiades, v. 376. Married to Demetrius, *ib.* Has a son by him named Corrhæbeus, 421.

———, sister of Phila, and wife of Ptolemy, v. 413.

Eurylochus the Ægean, Alexander assists him in his passion for Telesippa, iv. 306.

Eurymedon the Athenian general, sent to Sicily with reinforcements for Nicias, iii. 429. Killed in battle, 436.

†——— river, iii. 310.

Euryptolemus, son of Pericles' sister, ii. 12.

———, son of Megacles, Cimon marries his daughter Isodice, iii. 299.

Eurysaces, son of Ajax, ii. 112. i. 230.

Eurytion, son of Sous king of Sparta, i. 111. From him the Eurytionidæ, *ib.* iii. 219. Slackens the reins of government, and finds the ill consequences of it, i. 112.

Eurytus, i. 10.

Euterpe, according to some writers, the name of Themistocles' mother, i. 311.

Euthippus, the Anaphlystian, exerts himself greatly to recover the reputation of Cimon, and is killed in battle, together with Cimon's other friends, iii. 318, 319.

Euthydemus, an officer who served under Nicias, joined in commission with him, iii. 430. Ambitious to fight, *ib.* Defeated in an action at sea, *ib.*

Euthymus, the Leucadian, an ambush laid for him at Hieræ in Sicily, by which his men are cut off, ii. 267.

———, general of horse for Icetes, brought in chains to Timoleon and put to death, ii. 269.

Euthynus, the Thespian, iv. 115.

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Euxine sea, i. 32.

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Execestides, father of Solon, i. 218.

Execrable, Athenian magistrates so called, who violated the privilege of sanctuary, i. 232.

Execrations. See *Imprecations*.

Exile. Lycurgus a voluntary one from Sparta. See *Lycurgus*.

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Exiles from Thebes assist in restoring that city to liberty, ii. 348, *et seq.*
——-- of Achaia, disputes about them in the senate of Rome, ii. 504.
Exodium, among the Greeks, means the conclusion of a tragedy; among the Romans, a farce, iii. 497, *n.*

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FABER, Rev. G. S. on the mysteries of the Cabiri, iii. 343, *n.*
Fabia, a vestal virgin, sister to Terentia, Cicero's wife, v. 67.
Fabii, whence the name, ii. 62. Their descent from Hercules, *ib.* Three hundred of them cut off by the Tuscans, i. 383.
Fabius Ambustus, Quintus, takes up arms for the Clusians, i. 189. Sent to Delphi, 366. Sent embassador to the Gauls before Clusium, and violates the law of nations, 381.
———, chief Pontiff when Brennus, king of the Gauls, took Rome, i. 388.
———, Lucullus' lieutenant, defeated by Mithridates, iii. 377.
———, proprætor of Spain, his government renders the Romans obnoxious to the provinces, v. 229.
——-- *Buteo*, chosen dictator at Rome, for the purpose of creating new senators only, while Marcus Junius was dictator with the army, ii. 79.
——-- *Fabulus*, said to be the person who despatched Galba, vi. 239.
——-- *Gurges*, defeated by the Samnites, ii. 101, *n.*
FABIUS MAXIMUS, the origin of his family from Hercules, ii. 62. He was the fourth in descent from Fabius Rullus, who first acquired the surname of Maximus, 63. Has the surnames of 'Verrucosus' and 'Ovicula,' *ib.* Appears slow of apprehension, and stupid when a boy; but his powers unfold themselves by degrees, *ib.* 64. He prepares his body by exercise for the service of the state, and his mind by improving his powers of persuasion, 64. An oration, which he pronounced at the funeral of his son, extant in Plutarch's time, *ib.* Five times consul, 65. Honoured with a triumph for his victory over the Ligurians, *ib.* After Annibal had gained the battle of Trebia, Fabius advised the Romans to stand upon the defensive in their walled towns, 66, 67. Is chosen dictator, 69. Appoints Minucius his general of the horse, *ib.* Is preceded by twenty-four lictors, *ib.* Begins his office with acts of religion, 70. Amongst other things, vows a *ver sacrum*, *ib.* Takes slow and cautious measures against Annibal, 71. None but Annibal sensible of his prudence in that respect, 72. His general of the cavalry gives him much trouble, and brings the soldiers to consider him in a contemptible light, *ib.* He keeps to his first scheme notwithstanding, 73. Annibal, by a mistake of his guides, being led into the defiles of Casalinum, instead of the plains of Casinum, Fabius surrounds him, *ib.* 74. Discovers Annibal's stratagem to disengage himself, 75.

Has the disadvantage in some subsequent skirmishes, *ib.* The tribune Metilius incenses the people against him, and the senate is displeased with the terms he had settled for the ransom of prisoners, 76. He sells his lands to pay the ransom of the Romans whom he had received from Annibal, 77. Fabius being called to Rome on account of some religious solemnities, Minucius fights contrary to orders, and defeats part of the enemy's forces, *ib.* Though this success makes a great noise in Rome, Fabius declares he will hasten back to chastise his general of horse, 78. Metilius stirs up the people, and they appoint Minucius collegue to Fabius in the dictatorship, *ib.* Fabius does not consent to his collegue's requisition to have the command of all the forces every other day, but, instead of that, divided them equally with him, 80. Annibal's stratagem to draw Minucius to an engagement succeeds, and that general is entirely defeated, *ib.* 81. Fabius marches to his relief, and Annibal retires into his camp, 82. The gratitude of Minucius, 83. His address to his troops, and to Fabius, *ib.* Fabius lays down the dictatorship, and the consuls that succeed for some time, follow his plan of action, 84. Fabius exhorts Paulus Æmilius, the collegue of Varro, to guard against his temerity, 85. The greatness of Fabius' behaviour on the terrors occasioned in Rome by the successes of Annibal, 91. His relation, Fabius Pictor, is sent to consult the Oracle of Delphi, 92. Fabius appointed general with Claudius Marcellus, 93. Their opposite character, and operations, *ib.* Each of them was five times consul, *ib.* Annibal forges a letter, as from the inhabitants of Metapontum, to Fabius, who is nearly caught in the snare, 94. In what manner Fabius brought back one of the allies to his duty, *ib.* 95, and cured a Lucanian of stealing out of camp, 95, 96. He recovers Tarentum by means of a love-affair, 96, 97. Has art enough to amuse Annibal in the mean time, 97. Behaves to the Bruttians with a cruelty not to be expected in his character, 98. Bids his men 'leave to the Tarentines their angry gods,' *ib.* Is honoured with a second triumph, 99, and his son with the consulship, 100. A Roman scene between the father and the son, *ib.* He loses his son, and bears that loss with great moderation, 101. Publishes the funeral oration, which he had delivered himself, *ib.* Opposes the plans of Scipio, 102, 103. Does not live to see the reduction of the Carthaginians, 105. The citizens of Rome express their regard to him by defraying the expences of his funeral, *ib.*

Fabius Maximus, son of Paulus Æmilius, adopted into the family of the Fabii, ii. 300.

——— *Pictor*, i. 52. Sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, ii. 92.

——— *Rullus*, or *Rutilianus Quintus*, acquired the name of Maximus, iv. 140. ii. 63. He was great-grandfather of Fabius Maximus the dictator, 63, 101.

——— *Valens*, commander of a legion, the first officer who takes the oath of allegiance to Galba, vi. 220. Salutes Vitellius em-

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Fabricius, Caius, said the Romans were not overcome by the Epirots, but Lævinius by Pyrrhus, iii. 90. Sent to treat with Pyrrhus about the prisoners, 93. Refuses to accept Pyrrhus' presents, and says, 'The Romans had rather command those who are masters of gold, than have it themselves,' *ib.* Cineas gives him an account of the Epicurean philosophy, and he wishes that the enemies of Rome may embrace it, *ib.* 94. Informs Pyrrhus of his physician's offer to poison him, 95.

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†*Falerii*, besieged by the Romans, i. 373. The schoolmaster's treachery, and how he was punished by Camillus, 374, 375.

† *Falisci*, i. 364, 373. v. 227.

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Fannius, one of the friends of Tiberius Gracchus, v. 203.

———, Caius, attains the consulate through the interest of Caius Gracchus, v. 231. Opposes Caius Gracchus, *ib.*

Fathers, the law which empowered them to sell their children, corrected in some respect by Numa, i. 198.

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———, the demi-god, fable of his being taken, together with Picus, by Numa, and of Numa's learning charms and other secrets of them, i. 194. Supposed to have married the Bona Dea, iv. 366, 367.

Favonius, Marcus, his witticisms on Pompey, iv. 211. Flies with Pompey, and treats him with great respect, 220, 221. Is a friend and zealous imitator of Cato, v. 95. Is chosen ædile, *ib.* Brutus sounds him as to the conspiracy against Cæsar, vi. 67. His adventure with Brutus and Cassius, 89.

Fausta, daughter of Metella, iii. 280.

Faustulus, the foster-father of Romulus and Remus, i. 53.
Faustus, son of Sylla, iii. 280. Gets Mithridates' crown into his hands, iv. 178. Cassius strikes him when a boy, and why, vi. 65. Puts his estate up to sale, 326. What Cicero said of the bills he put up, *ib*.
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—— of the Nonæ Caprotinæ, celebrated by the women in the Goats'-March, i. 100, 101.
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—— of Adonis, accounted ominous to the Athenians, on account of it's happening at their embarkation for Sicily, ii. 137.
—— of Palilia, i. 65, *n*. Of the Lupercalia, i. 86. Of the Panathenæa. See *Panathenæa*. Of the Metœcia. See *Metœcia*. Of Boëdromia. See *Boëdromia*.
Februata, the feast of Lupercalia anciently so called, i. 86.
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†*Ferentum*, iii. 89.
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†*Fidenæ*, i. 76. In what manner taken by Romulus, 90.
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Fimbria, besieges Mithridates in Pitana, iii. 330. Invites Lucullus to his assistance, *ib*. Assassinates Flaccus, 265. His men desert him, and he kills himself, 266.
Fimbrians, the untractable bands which mutinied against Fimbria, iii. 334.
Fire. The sacred fire, attended by the Vestals at Rome, i. 87. The holy fire at Athens and Delphi, guarded by widows, 183. To be lighted by the sun-beams at Rome, in case of it's happening to be extinguished, *ib*. Called 'Vesta' and 'Unity' by the Pythagoreans, 186. Worshipped as the first principle of all things, 387. An emblem of purity, 182.
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†*Firmians*, a company of brave men who attended Cato the Censor in his operations against Antiochus, ii. 511.
Flaccus, Valerius. See *Valerius*.
—— the consul marches against Sylla, iii. 260. Assassinated by Fimbria, 265, 334.
——, Hordeonius, sent by Galba to succeed Virginius, vi. 220. The army refuse to take the oath of allegiance to Galba, which Flaccus proposes, 232.
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Flaminius, Caius Quintius, during his consulate defeats the Gauls, ii. 66, 392. Named general of horse to Minucius the dictator, and disqualified because a rat was heard to cry while he was naming him, 394. Rashly fights Annibal, and is killed, 67.
FLAMINIUS, Titus Quintius, or Quinctius, jealous of the glory of Philopœmen, iii. 20. Quick both to resent an injury, and to do a service, 31. A legionary tribune under Marcellus in the war with Annibal, 32. Appointed governor of Tarentum, and chief director of the colonies sent to Narnia and Cossa, *ib.* Offers himself a candidate for the consulship without ascending by the previous steps, and is elected though not yet thirty years old, *ib.* Macedon and the war with Philip falls to his lot, 33. Finds that his predecessors had entered Macedonia too late in the season, and remedies that defect, *ib.* On his arrival in Epirus, finds Publius Villius encamped over against Philip, who had long been defending the fords of the Apsus, 34. As a passage there seemed impracticable, he is advised to go through Dassaretis along the Lycus, *ib.* But he does not choose to remove too far from the sea, lest he should be in want of provisions, *ib.* Resolves to force his way up the mountains, 35. Some shepherds discovering to him a winding way neglected by the enemy, he sends a tribune with four thousand men up that way, *ib.* Attacks the Macedonians, when he believed the tribune had gained the top, *ib.* Traverses Epirus with good order and discipline, 36. As soon as he enters Thessaly, it declares for him, *ib.* He and Philip come to an interview, in which he insists that Philip should withdraw his garrisons from the Grecian cities, 37. The magistrates of Thebes come to meet him, and he enters the city with them, *ib.* 38. He sends agents to Rome to procure the continuation of his commission, 38. Meets Philip near Scotusa, and defeats him entirely in a pitched battle at Cynoscephalæ, 39, 40. Hurt at the Ætolians claiming the honour of the victory, and at the verses of Alcæus, suitable to their pretensions, 41. Philip goes in person, and makes his submission to Flaminius and the Romans, 42. The conditions on which peace is granted him by Flaminius, *ib.* The prudence of Flaminius, in making that peace before Antiochus declared himself, *ib.* The ten commissioners sent by the senate to assist Flaminius, advise him to keep garrisons in three of the principal cities of Greece; but he prevails with them to set Greece entirely free, 43. He proclaims liberty to the Greeks at the Isthmian games, and the shouts of joy and applause bring down the crows from the air, 44. Despatches Lentulus to the Bargyllians in Asia, Stertinius into Thrace, P. Villius to Antiochus, and goes himself to Chalcis and Magnesia, for the purpose of extending liberty, 45, 46. Appointed director of the Nemean games, 46. Recommends social virtues to the Greeks, *ib.* Dedicates shields to Castor and Pollux, and a crown of gold to Apollo, at Delphi, *ib.* 47. Commences hostilities against Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, but soon compromises the matter with him, 47. Honours decreed

to him by the Achæans, 48. Account of his triumph, 49. Antiochus invading Greece, the Romans appoint Flaminius the consul's lieutenant, *ib.* 50. Flaminius secures the Greeks in the Roman interest, and Antiochus is defeated at Thermopylæ, 50. Prevails with Manius the consul to spare the Ætolians and Chalcideans, 51. The Chalcideans pay divine honours to him, *ib.* Part of a hymn in his praise, 52. Some strong features of his soul described, *ib.* Sayings of his, *ib.* 53. Is created censor, 53. His acts while he bore that office, 54. His resentment against Cato for expelling his brother Lucius from the senate, 55. He goes embassador to the court of Prusias, and demands that Annibal should be put to death, 57. He dies in his bed, 60. Flaminius and Philopœmen compared, *ib.*—63.

Flaminius, Lucius, brother of Titus, expelled the senate, iii. 55. Admiral under his brother, iii. 34.

Flavius, a tribune, wounds one of Annibal's elephants with the point of an ensign staff, ii. 430, 431.

——— and Marullus, tribunes of the people, deposed by Cæsar, iv. 429.

——— *Gallus*, rashly undertakes an exploit against the Parthians, v. 466.

———, or *Fulvius Flaccus*, informs Tiberius Gracchus of the senate's design against him, v. 218, and *n.*

——— *Sabinus*, brother of Vespasian, left governor of Rome by Otho, vi. 249.

Flora, the celebrated courtesan, her amour with Pompey, iv. 127. So great a beauty that Cæcilius Metellus, when he adorned the temple of Castor and Pollux with paintings, put her picture among the rest, 128.

Flute, an instrument sacred to peace, ii. 424.

Fonteius Capito sent by Mark Antony to conduct Cleopatra into Syria, v. 459.

———, killed by Valens, vi. 224, 225.

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†*Fregellæ*, v. 226.

†*Fregellanians*, ii. 435.

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Fulcinia, mother of Marius, iii. 122.

Fulvia, widow of Clodius, marries Antony, v. 435. Maintains his

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Fulvius, Cneius, the proconsul, slain by Annibal, ii. 427.
———, Quintus, appointed dictator, ii. 428.
———, a friend of Caius Gracchus, v. 233. Sends his son to the consul Opimius, 239. He and his eldest son killed, 240. His body thrown into the river, and his widow forbidden to put herself into mourning, 241. His younger son also put to death, *ib.*
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†*Lacinium*, promontory of, iv. 154.
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†*Laconia* divided by Lycurgus into thirty thousand lots, i. 123.
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———, Caius, whence his appellation of the 'Wise,' v. 207.
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Lamia, the courtesan, becomes the favourite mistress of Demetrius, though much older than he, v. 377, 378. An entertainment of her providing, 390. Called 'Demetrius' Helepolis,'

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†*Lamia*, the war thence called 'Lamian,' iii. 66, *n.* iv. 41. v. 27, 372.

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Lampito, wife of Archidamus, and mother of Agis, iv. 70.

Lampo, the diviner, predicts from the horn of a ram, that Pericles' party would soon be greatly superior to the opposite one, ii. 10.

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Lampra, an Athenian borough, v. 39.

Lamprias, grandfather to Plutarch, v. 451.

†*Lampsacus* taken by Lysander, iii. 197. A city given to Themistocles by the king of Persia, to supply him with wine, i. 354.

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Lanassa, daughter of Cleodes, and wife of the elder Pyrrhus, iii. 66.

———, daughter of Agathocles, married to Pyrrhus, iii. 76. Leaves him, and marries Demetrius, 78,

†*Lango*, v. 169.

†*Langobritæ*, iv. 18.

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Laodice of Troy, said to have had Clymene, by Demŏphoön, i. 43. On painting her story in the portico called Pœcile, Polygnotus puts the figure of Elpinice in her room, iii. 298.

Laomedon refuses Hercules the horses he had promised him, and Hercules takes Troy the first time, iv. 2.

——— the Orchomenian, his cure for the spleen, v. 257.

——— the Athenian, iii. 305.

Laphystius the orator, accuses Timoleon, ii. 274.

†*Lapithæ.* Theseus assists them against the Centaurs, i. 37, 38.

Laras or *Lars*, a common name of the Tuscan kings, i. 293.

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†*Larissa*, city of, iv. 89, 220.

†*Larissus*, river, iii. 10.

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†*Larymna*, a city of Bœotia, iii. 268.

†*Latins* demand a number of free-born virgins of the Romans, i. 100. Invade the Roman territories, 403. Are defeated by Camillus, 404.

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Latinus, son of Telemachus, i. 51.

——— Titus, his vision, ii. 204.

Lat na frighted by a wild-boar near mount Ptoüm, ii. 360.

Latamyas and the Thessalians defeated at Geræstus, i. 384.

Laughter, a little statue dedicated to the God of Laughter by Lycurgus, in the public hall where they used to eat, i. 150.

Lavinia, i. 51.
† *Lavinium*, i. 89.
† *Laurentum*, i. 89.
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† *Laurium*, a silver mine belonging to the Athenians, i. 315, and *n*. Themistocles proposes that it's revenues, which used to be divided among the people, should be applied to the building of ships, *ib*. 316.
† *Lauron*, a city in Spain, taken by Sertorius in sight of Pompey, iv. 24.
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† *Lebadia*, iii. 253. Sylla's victory foretold by prophecies thence, 255. Taken by Lysander, 223.
† *Lechæum*, v. 175. vi. 176.
† *Lectum*, a promontory in the country of Troas, iii. 331.
† *Leges*, iv. 170.
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——— *Spinther*, iv. 436.
——— sent into Asia by Flaminius, iii. 45.
———, the consul, marches against Spartacus, and is defeated, iii. 459.
——— the censor, iv. 150.
———, the consul, averse to a reconciliation between Pompey and Cæsar, refuses to assemble the senate, iv. 201, 202. Opposes Cæsar's demands, v. 431. Calls Cæsar a robber, and says there was need of arms, not voices, against him, iv. 395. Drives Antony and Curio out of the senate-house, *ib*. v. 430, 431.
———, Lucius, coming to Ægypt, and wandering about ignorant of Pompey's fate, is put to death, iv. 229.

Lentulus, Cornelius, his character, v. 311. Whence his name of Sura, 312. Joins in Catiline's conspiracy, v. 71, 311. Is expelled the senate, but afterwards restored, 311, and *n*. A saying of his, 312. Infatuated by vain predictions, *ib.* Draws the embassadors of the Allobroges into the conspiracy, 313. Is convicted in full senate, and taken into close custody, 314. And executed, 318.

Leo of Byzantium, a saying of his, iii. 434.

—— the Corinthian, sallies from the citadel of Syracuse, and dislodges the enemy from Achradina, ii. 253.

Leobotes, the Athenian, accuses Pausanias of a treasonable design against Greece, i. 345.

Leochares the statuary, iv. 304.

Leocrates, an Athenian of considerable note, ii. 478.

Leonatus the Macedonian, warns Pyrrhus of the design which an Italian had upon him in battle, iii. 88.

————, one of Alexander's generals, directed, after the death of that prince, by Perdiccas, to establish Eumenes in the government of Cappadocia, iv. 41. Conceives a project to seize the kingdom of Macedon, which he mentions in confidence to Eumenes, 42. Sent by Alexander to the ladies of Darius' family, 271. Employs a number of camels, to bring him earth out of Egypt, to be used only in wrestling, 303. Joins Antipater, v. 30. Is killed in battle, *ib.*

Leonidas, uncle to Charilaus, king of Sparta, i. 113.

————, king of Sparta, tells one who talked well, but at an unseasonable time, that 'he should not talk so much to the purpose, of what it was not to the purpose to talk about,' i. 143.

————, slain at Thermopylæ, i. 324.

————, Alexander's tutor, iv. 246. Bids him 'be sparing of frankincense, till he had conquered the several countries where it grew,' 278, 279.

————, king of Sparta, son of Cleonymus, v. 136. His character, 140. He opposes Agis in his reformations, *ib.* Adheres to the party of the rich, who were against the remission of debts and division of lands, *ib.* Is accused by Lysander, and flies to the temple of Minerva, for refuge, 144, 145. Is deposed, 145. Is restored, and Cleombrotus, who had been set up in his stead, is banished, 148, 149. The great virtue of his daughter, who was wife to Cleombrotus, *ib.* 150. He compels the widow of Agis to marry his son Cleomenes, 155.

Leontidas espouses the Spartan interest at Thebes, and becomes one of the tyrants there, ii. 347. Sends assassins against the Theban exiles at Athens, who kill Androclides, *ib.* Is killed by Pelopidas, 354.

† *Leontines*, ii. 260. iii. 97, 417. vi. 26, 37.

Leontis, tribe of, i. 311. ii. 452.

† *Leontocephalus*, i. 354.

Leos the herald, discovers to Theseus the conspiracy of the Pallantidæ, i. 14.

Leosthenes, the Athenian general, author of the Lamian war, iii. 66. v. 27. What passes between him and Phocion, ii. 238. iv. 27. His victories, 28. His death, *ib.*

Leotychidas, one of the ancient kings of Sparta, asks his friends at Corinth, 'whether trees grew square there,' i. 130, 131.

———, born in marriage to Agis by Timæa, but believed to be the son of Alcibiades, ii. 147. iv. 72. Acknowledged as his son by Agis upon his death-bed, *ib.* Set aside as spurious, through the management of Lysander, *ib.* See also iii. 216, 217.

Lepida, contracted to Cato, marries Scipio, v. 55.

Lepidus, Marcus Æmilius, chief of the senate, ii. 333.

———, Marcus, against the inclination of Sylla, chosen consul through the interest of Pompey, iv. 142. Attempts after the death of Sylla to make himself absolute sovereign of Rome, *ib.* 143. Flies into Sardinia, and dies of grief for his wife's infidelity, 144.

———. Cæsar chooses him for his collegue in the consulship, v. 435. Forms the triumvirate with Antony and Octavianus, 349, 350. Has Africa for his share, 454.

Leptines and Polyperchon kill Callippus, vi. 53, 54.

———, tyrant of Apollonia, surrenders it to Timoleon, and is sent to Corinth, ii. 260.

———, brother of Dionysius the Elder, vi. 10.

† *Lesbos*, ii. 125, 148.

Lesche, a place at Sparta where the old men meet for conversation, to which the new-born children were carried to be examined, i. 136.

Letters, Laconic, i. 142. ii. 156. iv. 86.

† *Leucadians*, v. 271.

Leucaria. Roma supposed by some writers her daughter by Italus, i. 50.

† *Leucas*, a Corinthian colony, ii. 248. Apollo's temple there, iv. 153.

Leucothea, the goddess, i. 367.

† *Leuctra*, battle of, ii. 367, 368. iv. 105, and *n.* Another battle, v. 160.

Leuctridæ, daughters of Scedasus, their rape, and the sacrifice to be made to their *manes*, ii. 365, 366.

Leuctrum, ii. 365.

† *Leucus*, river, ii. 302, 309.

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Liberalia, iv. 422.

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———, games of, observed at Platææ in honour of the brave Greeks who fell in battle there, ii. 478, 480.

——— proclaimed to all Greece by Flaminius, at the Isthmian games. See *Games*.

———, an altar reared to her by the Greeks, ii. 477.

† *Libethra*, iv. 259.

Libitina, the goddess of funerals, i. 187.

Libo had the command for Pompey of the fleet that watched the mouth of the harbour of Brundusium, v. 432.
Library. That of Alexandria burnt, iv. 414. That of Pergamus given by Antony to Cleopatra, v. 481. That of Lucullus open to all the Grecian literati, iii. 387.
† *Libya*, ii. 136. iii. 84.
Libys, v. 138.
† *Libyssa*, in Bithynia, iii. 57.
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Lichas, the Lacedæmonian, celebrated for his hospitality, iii. 307.
Licinia, daughter of Licinius Crassus, and wife of Caius Gracchus, v. 222. Her discourse to her husband, 238, 239. Deprived of her dowry after his death, 241.
——, the vestal virgin, M. Crassus pays his court to her, in order to buy her estate, iii. 447.
Licinius Stolo raises a great commotion in Rome, by insisting that one of the consuls should be chosen out of the Plebeians, i. 412. Appointed general of horse, 414. Procures a law that no one should possess above five hundred acres of land, and is the first that breaks it, *ib.*
—— *Crassus.* See *Crassus.*
——, servant to Caius Gracchus, v. 201. Killed in attempting to defend his master, 240.
——, Publius, defeated by Perseus, king of Macedon, ii. 291.
—— *Macer*, when accused by Cicero, goes home and dresses himself in a white gown, as secure of being acquitted; but finding that he was cast, kills himself, v. 302, 303.
—— *Cossus*, i. 366.
Lictors, persons who attended on the great officers of state among the Romans, why so called, i. 94.
Licymnius, his monument, Pyrrhus falls there, iii. 116.
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Ligarius, Quintus, defended with great eloquence by Cicero before Cæsar, v. 342. Is acquitted, *ib.* Yet afterward in the conspiracy against Cæsar, vi. 66.
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† *Lilybæum*, promontory of, ii. 261.
Limnæus, killed in defending Alexander in a city of the Malli, iv. 235.
Limnus, a Macedonian, conspires against Alexander, and is killed in the resistance he made to those who were sent to apprehend him, iv. 315.
† *Lindus*, ii. 437.
† *Lingones*, a people of Gaul, iv. 389.

Lions let loose in the city of Megara, vi. 64.
† *Lipareans*, attack the Roman ships, charged with an offering for Delphi, i. 373.
† *Liris*, river, iii. 168.
Lisping. That defect graceful in Alcibiades, ii. 114.
——— of the gout, pain in the feet so called by Strabo, iii. 267.
Lituus, the crooked staff of Romulus used by the augurs, i. 88. Lost when the Gauls burnt Rome, and recovered by miracle, *ib.*
Livia, the wife of Augustus, v. 508. vi. 213.
Livius Drusus, uncle to Cato the Younger by the mother's side, v. 48.
——— *Drusus*, tribune with Caius Gracchus, v. 231. The senate put him upon opposing that popular man, by acts of greater popularity, *ib.*
——— *Posthumius*, general of the Latins, i. 100.
——— *Marcus*, what he said concerning Tarentum, ii. 99.
† *Locri Epizephyrii*, ii. 434.
† *Locris*, ii. 359. vi. 4, 167.
† *Lollius*, Marcus, Cato's collegue in the quæstorship, v. 64.
———, Lucius, iv. 16.
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† *Lucca*, iii. 467.
† *Lucanian* lake, iii. 461.
† *Lucanians*, iii. 83.
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Lucilius the tribune proposes the choosing of Pompey dictator, but is opposed by Cato, and nearly turned out of office, iv. 194.
——— suffers himself to be taken, to save Brutus, vi. 104. His speech to Antony, *ib.* He attends Antony in his retirement into the desert, v. 492.
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——— *Antonius*, his rebellion against Domitian in Germany, ii. 314. The news of his being cut to pieces with his whole army suddenly spread in Rome, and the author not to be found; yet confirmed afterward, *ib.* 315. See all the other *Lucii* under their family-names.
Lucretia, the wife of Numa, i. 205.
———, her rape the cause of the abolition of kingly government in Rome, i. 271, 272.
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——— *Ofella* besieges young Marius in Præneste, iii. 275. He applies for the consulship against the inclinations of Sylla, and is killed by his order, 279.
———, Lucius, chief senator, i. 401.
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LUCULLUS, Lucius, his grandfather a man of consular dignity, iii. 325. Metellus Numidicus was his uncle, *ib.* His father found

guilty of embezzling the public money, and his mother a woman of indifferent reputation, *ib.* Detects Servilius his father's accuser, in some misdemeanor, and prosecutes him for it, 326. Has great command both of the Greek and Latin tongues, *ib.* Sylla dedicates his Commentaries to him, *ib.* Versed in the liberal sciences, *ib.* Writes a short history of the Marsi in Greek verse, 327. His great affection for his brother Marcus, *ib.* They are created ædiles together, *ib.* Distinguishes himself in the Marsian war, though then very young, *ib.* His constancy and mildness recommend him to Sylla, who makes use of his services from first to last, *ib.* Sylla gives him the direction of the mint, *ib.* Sylla sends him out during the siege of Athens, with a few ships in search of provisions, *ib.* He brings Crete over to that general's interest, 328. Puts an end to the civil wars in Cyrene, *ib.* Sails to Egypt, and finds a magnificent reception there, *ib.* Ptolemy refuses to enter into alliance with Sylla, but offers Lucullus presents to the value of eighty talents, 229. Lucullus touches at Cyprus, *ib.* The stratagem he made use of to escape the enemy's ships, *ib.* Gets a fresh supply of ships at Rhodes, and reduces several islands in the Ægean sea, *ib.* Is desired by Fimbria to shut up Mithridates in Pitana by sea, while he attacks him by land, 330. He rejects the proposal, and suffers Mithridates to escape, *ib.* Defeats the king's fleet twice, *ib.* 331. Conveys Sylla and his army from the Chersonese to the Asiatic coast, 331. Being commissioned to levy the fine, laid by Sylla upon Asia, and to coin the money, he performs the odious part of it in as lenient a manner as possible, *ib.* Punishes the Mityleans for having joined Marius' party, *ib.* 332. Has no hand in the troubles of Italy, 332. Is constituted by Sylla guardian to his son, *ib.* This the foundation of the jealousies between Pompey and Lucullus, *ib.* After the death of Sylla, Lucullus is chosen consul with M. Cotta, *ib.* A new war with Mithridates being proposed, Lucullus readily supplies Pompey with money in Spain, lest he should come home, and be appointed to the command against Mithridates, *ib.* 333. Prevents L. Quintius the tribune from rescinding the acts of Sylla, 333. The method he takes to get the government of Cilicia, 334. Gains the command in the Mithridatic war, *ib.* His collegue Cotta is sent with a fleet to guard the Propontis and Bithynia, *ib.* Lucullus passes into Asia, with a legion raised in Italy on this occasion, *ib.* Finds the Roman troops in Asia, particularly those called 'Fimbrians,' intractable and entirely corrupted, but brings them under discipline, *ib.* 335. Mithridates new-models his army, and brings it from show to use, 335. The people of Asia extremely oppressed by the Roman tax-gatherers and usurers; Lucullus redresses their grievances, *ib.* Cotta fights Mithridates, and being defeated and shut up in Chalcedon, Lucullus marches to his relief, 336. Noble sayings of Lucullus, *ib.* He goes to meet Marius, whom Sertorius had sent to Mithridates, but the two armies are parted by a prodigy, 337. Resolves to reduce Mithridates by famine, *ib.* Mithridates decamps in the night, and lays siege to Cyzicum, 338.

Lucullus follows, and takes measures for cutting off his convoys, *ib.* Mithridates' men have the art to persuade the Cyzicenians, that the Romans who lay upon the heights, were Armenians, 339. But Lucullus finds means to send Demonax into the town to acquaint them with his arrival, *ib.* Lucullus comes up with part of the forces of Mithridates at the river Rhyndacus, destroys great numbers, and makes many prisoners, 341. Lucullus strikes another great blow near the Granicus, 342. Gives chase to a squadron of the enemy's ships, takes them and kills their admiral Isidorus, 342. Destroys more of the king's ships near Lemnos, and takes Marius, the general sent by Sertorius, prisoner, *ib.* 343. The senate offer Lucullus three thousand talents, to enable him to fit out a fleet; but he tells them he shall drive Mithridates out of the sea with the ships which the allies would give him, 344. He resolves to penetrate into Pontus, by way of Bithynia and Galatia, *ib.* Finds provisions very scarce at first, but afterward meets with them in extreme plenty, *ib.* His troops complain of his taking the enemy's towns by capitulation, instead of storm, 345. His answer to those who complained of his proceeding slowly, *ib.* He leaves the siege of Amisus to Muræna, and marches against Mithridates, who waits for him on the plains of the Cabiri, 346. In the first engagement the Roman cavalry are put to the rout, *ib.* Artemidorus conducts Lucullus to a strong post which commands the plains of the Cabiri, 347. A second rencounter between the two armies, *ib.* A Dardarian grandee pretends to desert to Lucullus, with a view to assassinate him; but is providentially disappointed, 348. Lucullus takes Cabiri, and many other places, where he finds much treasure and releases many prisoners; amongst the rest, one of the king's sisters, named Nyssa, 351. Subdues Tibarene and Armenia the Less, 352. Demands Mithridates of Tigranes, *ib.* Returns to the siege of Amisus, and takes it, *ib.* Weeps for the fate of that city, which is burnt and plundered, 353. Rebuilds and peoples it, *ib.* The miserable state of Asia Minor, relieved by his regulations, 354. The farmers of the revenues raise a clamour against him in Rome, but he is adored in Asia, 355. The Grecian cities in Asia institute a feast in honour of him, 358. He lays siege to Sinope and takes it, 359. Destroys the Cilicians who had thrown themselves into the town, *ib.* Endeavours to save the town on account of a dream concerning the hero Autolycus, *ib.* Machares, son of Mithridates, sends him a crown of gold, and desires to be admitted among the friends and allies of Rome, 360. Lucullus leaves Sornatius, with six thousand men in Pontus, and with little more than double that number marches against Tigranes and Mithridates, *ib.* His troops murmur, and the popular orators at Rome declaim against him, *ib.* 361. He passes the Euphrates without difficulty, and has presages of success, *ib.* Passes through Sophene, and pushes his march to mount Taurus, *ib.* 362. Enters Armenia, *ib.* Mithrobarzanes is sent with a body of men to take the Roman general alive, 362. Lucullus sends Sextilius against him, *ib.* Tigranes leaves Tigra-

nocerta, and retires to mount Taurus, intending to assemble all his forces there; but Lucullus cuts off the parties as they come up, 363. Lucullus invests Tigranocerta, *ib.* He leaves Muræna to continue the siege, and goes with a small party against Tigranes, 365. Tigranes' saying on the diminutive appearance of Lucullus' army, *ib.* He imagines Lucullus is flying, on his making a motion to pass the river, 366. Somebody observes, 'that day had been a black one to the Romans,' and Lucullus says, 'he will make it a white one,' *ib.* He gains the advantage of the summit of a hill, and bears down upon the enemy, who fly without striking a stroke, 367. He takes Tigranocerta, 369. Finds immense treasures there, and makes a proper use of them, *ib.* Recommends himself to the eastern nations by his justice and humanity, 370. Does great honour to the remains of Zarbienus, king of Gordyene, who had been put to death by Tigranes, *ib.* Receives embassadors from Parthia, 371. Finds the Parthians insincere, and meditates an expedition against them, *ib.* His troops prove refractory and mutinous, *ib.* He ascends mount Taurus, and marches against Artaxata, the capital of Tigranes, 372. Defeats Tigranes in another battle, 373. His army refuses to follow him to Artaxata, 374. He crosses mount Taurus again, goes against Nisibis, and takes it, *ib.* 375. His good fortune forsakes him, partly through his own fault, 375. Murmurings against him at Rome, and practices for appointing another general, 376. His brother-in-law Clodius excites the Fimbrians against him, *ib.* 377. His troops refuse to march for some time, but on news that Fabius was beaten by Mithridates, they put themselves in motion, 377, 378. Triarius hastens to fight before the arrival of Lucullus, and is defeated, 378. Lucullus proposes once more to march against Tigranes, but his mutinous troops show their empty purses, *ib.* All that they will agree to, is, to keep the field, and to fight if they should happen to be attacked, *ib.* Pompey succeeds him in the command, 379. Their common friends bring them to an interview, *ib.* They meet upon polite terms at first, but part greater enemies than ever, 380. The circumstance of the laurels which the lictors of Lucullus gave to those of Pompey, *ib.* Pompey allows Lucullus to take no more than sixteen hundred men home with him to attend his triumph, *ib.* With difficulty he obtains his triumph, through the interest of the patricians, 381. The triumph described, *ib.* 382. He divorces Clodia for her infamous life, and is not more fortunate in marrying Servilia, Cato's sister, 382. Soon quits the affairs of state, and retires to luxurious indulgences, *ib.* 383. His villas, gardens, fish-ponds, purple robes, furniture for his house, and provisions for his table, *ib.* 384, 385. He entertains the Grecian literati in his house, 386. Cicero and Pompey sup with him, and only allow him to say to his servants, 'We sup in the Apollo,' 387. He collects books at an immense expense, and his libraries are open to all the world, *ib.* The Greeks in particular have his countenance, and he often confers with them on matters of learning, *ib.* 388. He gives the preference to the Old Academy, *ib.* Occa-

sionally attends both the senate and the Forum, only quitting his pretensions to the lead, *ib.* Pompey's party suborn a person to accuse Lucullus of a design against Pompey's life, 389. Lucullus' intellects fail, and his brother has the care of his estate during the last years of his life, 390. The people insist on burying him in the Campus Martius, but his brother begs leave to have it done in the Tusculan estate, *ib.*

Lucullus, Marcus, his brother Lucius' particular attention to him, iii. 327. Appointed ædile along with his brother, *ib.* Acts as one of Sylla's lieutenants, and gains a considerable victory, iii. 270. Accused by Memmius for some of his acts when quæstor, but acquitted, 381.

———, Marcus, prætor of Macedonia, iv. 360.

Lucumo, his intrigue with Arron's or Arun's wife, i. 379. Rather a title than a name, *ib. n.*

Lupercalia, a feast of purification, i. 86. A dog then sacrificed, *ib.*

Luperci run about naked, and beat the women with thongs to cure them of barrenness, i. 86. iv. 428.

† *Lusitania*, iv. 370. vi. 230.

† *Lusitanians*, send embassadors to Sertorius, iv. 13. Defeated by Cæsar, 370.

Lustration, vi. 92.

Lutatius Catulus. See *Catulus.*

Luxury flies from Sparta on the introduction of iron money, i. 124. Increases amazingly at Rome in a short period, iii. 163.

Lybis, the father of Lysander, v. 138.

† *Lycaonia*, v. 484.

Lyceum, i. 35. iii. 247.

† *Lycia*, the actions of Brutus in that country, vi. 85, 86.

Lycimnius, his tomb in Argos, iii. 116.

Lycomedes the Athenian, the first who takes a Persian ship in the battle of Salamis, i. 335.

———, king of Scyros, receives Theseus when banished from Athens, i. 44. But afterward pushes him from a rock and kills him, *ib.* iii. 304.

Lycon the player, inserts a verse in his part, by which he begs ten talents of Alexander, and that prince gives them, iv. 285.

——— of Syracuse, an accomplice in the murther of Dion, vi. 53.

Lycophron, brother of Thebe, assists her in killing her husband, Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, ii. 386, 387.

——— the Corinthian general, killed in battle by Nicias, iii. 406.

Lycortas, the father of Polybius, chosen general by the Achæans, revenges the death of Philopœmen, iii. 27.

Lycurgidæ, days observed in memory of Lycurgus, i. 163.

LYCURGUS, the Spartan lawgiver, the times in which he flourished, i. 109, 110. His genealogy, 110. He succeeds his brother Polydectes in the Spartan throne, but relinquishes it, when it appears that his brother's widow is pregnant, 112. Preserves the child, and keeps the administration only as his guardian, *ib.* To get clear of unjust suspicions, travels into foreign countries,

till his nephew Charilaus should be grown up, 113. Visits Crete, and treasures up some of the Cretan laws, *ib.* 114. Persuades Thales, the lyric poet, to go and settle at Sparta, 114. Procures a copy of Homer's poems in Ionia, 115. Selects one of the usages of Egypt, *ib.* Said by one historian to have visited the Gymnosophists, 116. Returns to Sparta, at the request of his countrymen, and resolves to alter the whole frame of the constitution, *ib.* Gains the sanction of the Delphic oracle, 117. Prepares the principal citizens, and enters the market-place with thirty persons well-armed, *ib.* Institutes a senate, consisting of twenty-eight persons, who were to preserve a just equilibrium between the kings and the people, 119. Makes an equal division of lands, 123. Banishes gold and silver, and introduces heavy iron-money, 124. Obliges all the citizens to eat at public tables, 125. Has one of his eyes struck out by Alcander, in an insurrection, on account of this institution, 127. A description of these public repasts, 127—129. Chooses not to commit the principles of his polity to writing, but to interweave them with the education of youth, 130. Commands the Spartans to have plain and simple dwellings, *ib.* Not to fight often with the same enemy, 131. His regulations concerning the virgins, 132. He fixes a mark of infamy upon old bachelors, 133. The Spartan marriages, how conducted, *ib.* 134. All jealousy removed, and adulteries prevented, by the husband's occasionally consenting to the communication of his wife's favours, *ib.* No weakly children reared at Sparta, 136. The nurses excellent, *ib.* The education of the boys undertaken by the public, when they reached the age of seven years, 137. The whole an exercise of obedience, *ib.* Their attention to literature very small, *ib.* They are principally taught to be valiant and hardy, 138. Encouraged in carrying things off by surprise, but punished, if discovered, 139. Their spare diet contributes to make them tall, *ib.* They are accustomed from their childhood to think, 141. If a favourite boy offends, the person who had taken him into his protection is punished, *ib.* They are taught to be concise in their language, and to excel in sharp repartee, *ib.* Instances of that kind, 142, 143, 144. Their reverence for old age, 133, 144. The Spartan poetry and music, 144. The king sacrifices to the Muses before a battle, 146. Their discipline less severe in war than in peace, *ib.* 147. A saying of Lycurgus concerning a large head of hair, 147. Other regulations when they had taken the field, *ib.* Lycurgus assists Iphitus, in regulating the Olympic games, and orders a general armistice during those games, 148. The discipline of the Lacedæmonians continues after they arrive at years of maturity; and the whole city, in point of good order, is like one great camp, 149. Their citizens exercise no mechanic arts; and the Helots till the ground for them, *ib.* Law-suits are banished with money, *ib.* Lycurgus encourages facetiousness, as a seasoning of their hard exercise and diet, 150. Instructs them to live not for themselves, but for their country, *ib.* The method of choosing a new senator, in case of a vacancy, 152. His

regulations with respect to burials and mourning, 153. He permits only some particular persons among the Spartans to travel; and suffers few strangers to visit Sparta, *ib.* 154. He provides for the perpetuity of his laws, by making the people swear to observe them till his return from Delphi, 157. With the same view he voluntarily puts a period to his life, 158. His establishment and the glory of Sparta continue for the space of five hundred years, *ib.* His laws broken through by the introduction of gold and silver, 159. Eulogium of Lycurgus, 161, 162. Leaves a son named Antiorus, who dies without issue, 162. A feast called Lycurgidæ, is observed in memory of him at Sparta, *ib.* 163.

Lycurgus, head of the Pediæi, i. 263, *n.*

———, the orator, v. 10. What he said to Phocion, 13.

———. The conditions upon which he proposes to deliver up Byzantium to Alcibiades, ii. 159.

† *Lycus*, river, ii. 270. iii. 34. 346. v. 414.

† *Lydia*, i. 850. iv. 48. vi. 116.

Lydian March, one of the Spartan festivals concludes with it, ii. 473.

Lygdamis, iii. 133.

Lynceus. See *Idas.*

——— wrote a description of the entertainment which Lamia provided for Demetrius, v. 390.

Lyra, iv. 426.

Lysander, of Alopece, i. 357, 358.

Lysander, his statue, or that of Brasidas, in the oratory of the Acanthians at Delphi, iii. 188. His father not of the royal line, but descended from the Heraclidæ by another family, 189. His education and character, *ib.* Does not love money, yet fills Sparta with it, and with the love of it too, *ib.* 190. Is pitched upon to act against the Lacedæmonians, *ib.* He proves a great benefactor to the city of Ephesus, *ib.* 191. Goes to Sardis to acquaint Cyrus with the treachery of Tisaphernes, who, contrary to the king's orders, favoured Alcibiades and the Athenians, 191. Ingratiates himself greatly with Cyrus, who gives him ten thousand pieces of gold, *ib.* Increases the seamen's pay, and, by that means, almost empties the enemy's ships, *ib.* Afraid to engage with Alcibiades, *ib.* Beats Antiochus, to whom Alcibiades had imprudently left the command of the fleet during his absence, 192. Lays the foundation of aristocratical government in the cities of Asia, *ib.* Greatly lamented by the principal persons in those parts when he leaves them, 193. Distresses his successor Callicratidas, *ib.* The command is restored to him, 195. He and Callicratidas compared, *ib.* An instance of his duplicity and cruelty too, with respect to the inhabitants of Miletus, *ib.* Large sums given him by Cyrus, 196. Pillages Ægina and Salamis, 197. Visits the coast of Attica, where Agis was with his land-forces, *ib.* Takes Lampsacus, *ib.* Deceives the Athenian fleet by his artful manœuvres, 198. Falls upon it when the men were gone ashore to divert themselves, and takes or destroys the whole except the sacred galley called 'Para-

lus,' and eight ships, with which Conon escapes to Evagoras, king of Cyprus, 199, 200. Visits the maritime towns of Asia, and every where sets up an oligarchy, composed of his own friends and creatures, 203. Expels the Samians and Sestians, 204. Restores the Æginetæ, Telians, and Scionæans, to their possessions, *ib.* Obliges Athens, distressed by famine, to surrender at discretion, *ib.* Conditions on which he agrees to make peace with the Athenians, 205. Finds a pretence to change their form of government, *ib.* Burns all their ships but twelve, and pulls down their walls, with every instance of festivity, 206. Sets up the Thirty Tyrants, *ib.* Puts a garrison in the citadel, *ib.* Sends the treasures he had taken to Lacedæmon, by Gylippus, who opens the bottom of the bags, and takes out large sums, 207. Sciraphidas proposes to exclude all gold and silver money from Sparta, but Lysander has interest enough to get it retained as the public treasure, 208. He erects his own statue, and those of his officers in brass at Delphi, and dedicates two golden stars to Castor and Pollux, 209. He, likewise, places there the galley made of gold and ivory, which Cyrus had presented him with, *ib.* Has altars erected to him, and hymns sung, 210. His favours to the poets who flattered him, *ib.* 211. Flattery makes him extremely arrogant and cruel, *ib.* Instance of his cruelty, *ib.* On the complaint of Pharnabazus against him, the Ephori send the Scytale, and recall him, 212. Pharnabazus outwits him, and makes him his own accuser, 213. Lysander pretends an obligation to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, *ib.* Returns, upon hearing that the oligarchies were going to be dissolved, 214. Is appointed general, *ib.* Is prevented from taking Athens again, by the jealousy of Pausanias, 215. The Athenians soon revolt; and that circumstance redeems the reputation of Lysander, *ib.* Several sayings of his, *ib.* On the demise of Agis he finds means to get Agesilaus appointed king, notwithstanding the pretensions of Leotychidas, and the lameness of Agesilaus, 216. Advises Agesilaus to carry the war into Asia, and goes with him as one of his counsellors, 217. The king, finding that Lysander is treated with superior distinction, humbles him more than he ought to have done such a friend, *ib.* 218. Lysander comes to an explanation with Agesilaus, and has the lieutenancy of the Hellespont given him, *ib.* 219. Draws off Spithridates from the Persian interest, 219. Returns to Sparta, and forms a design to open a way to the throne to all the citizens of Sparta, or, at least, to all the Heraclidæ, *ib.* Hopes, if he can effect this, to have the best pretensions himself, 220. Gets Cleon of Halicarnassus to compose him an oration suitable to the occasion, *ib.* Endeavours to support his scheme with divine sanctions, *ib.* The priests of Ammon accuse him, but the Spartans regard them not, *ib.* Avails himself of a pretended son of Apollo, 221. Gives it out that there were certain oracles at Delphi, which none but a son of Apollo was to open, *ib.* Has the misfortune to see his scheme miscarry through the cowardice of one of the agents, *ib.* Charged with engaging his

country in the Bœotian war, 222. Sent against the Thebans with one army, and Pausanias with another, 223. Takes Orchomenus and Lebadia, *ib.* Sends letters to Pausanias, that he will meet him at Haliartus, which the Thebans intercept, *ib.* Is attacked by surprise and killed, 224. Pausanias recovers his body by treaty, 225. It is buried in the territories of the Panopæans, *ib.* An ancient oracle fulfilled by Lysander's being killed near the river Hoplites, 226. His poverty, which was discovered after his death, proves an advantage to his character, 227. Among his papers is found that political one, which discovered his design to make the crown elective, *ib.* Agesilaus is inclined to publish it, but is restrained by Lacratidas, *ib.* The Spartans fine the persons, who desert their engagements with his daughters, 228.

Lysander, son of Lybis, v. 138. Chosen one of the Ephori through the interest of Agis, 140. Proposes a decree for cancelling of debts, *ib.* Accuses king Leonidas, 144. Is prosecuted by the Ephori for his decree relating to debts, 145. Deceived by the artful Agesilaus, 146.

Lysandridas, the Megalopolitan, his advice to Cleomenes, v. 180.

Lysiades of Megalopolis, sets himself up tyrant there, in hopes of finding superior happiness in power, vi. 183. Quits the sovereignty, *ib.* Joins the city to the Achæan league, *ib.* Is chosen general of that league, and declares war against the Spartans, *ib.* Quarrels with Aratus, and loses his interest, 184. Forms a scheme to have all the honour of bringing Aristomachus, tyrant of Argos, into the league, but is disappointed, 188. Aratus neglects to support him with the infantry, and he is killed by Cleomenes, v. 160.

Lysias, i. 37, *n.*

Lysicles, a man in a low sphere of life, by the instructions of Aspasia becomes one of the principal and most polite men in Athens, ii. 37.

Lysidice, daughter of Pelops and mother of Alcmena, i. 9.

Lysimachus, father of Aristides, ii. 444.

————, grandson of Aristides, experiences the bounty of the Athenians, ii. 489. Turns interpreter of dreams for his bread, *ib.*

————, king, forges a letter to Pyrrhus, as from Ptolemy, iii. 72. Ravages Upper Macedon, 78. Divides the kingdom of Macedon with Pyrrhus, 80. Marches against him as far as Edessa, upon which Pyrrhus retires, and loses his share of Macedon, 81. Says to Onesicritus the historian, who read to him an account of the Amazon's visit to Alexander, 'Where was I at that time?' iv. 312. Suspected by his allies on account of his great power, v. 395. Taken prisoner by Dromichætes, 405.

———— the Acarnanian, preceptor to Alexander, iv. 246. Desires to go with his master against the Arabians on Antilibanus, by which Alexander runs no small risk of his life, 277.

Lysippus, the Achæan general, iii. 16.

————. Alexander suffers no other artist to make his statue,

iv. 243. Represents, in figures of brass, Alexander killing a lion, 304.

M.

MACARIA, daughter of Hercules, ii. 366.
†*Macedon* subdued by the Romans in the time of Perseus, ii. 319, 320.
Macedonian troops, ordered by Alexander to shave their beards, i. 7.
Macedonians, great lovers of their kings, ii. 312.
Macedonicus, a name given to Metellus, iii. 120.
Machanidas, the Lacedæmonian tyrant, killed in battle by Philopœmen, iii. 14.
Machares, son of Mithridates, sends Lucullus a crown of gold, and desires to be admitted into the friendship and alliance of the Romans, iii. 360.
Machæriones, the posterity of Anticrates so called, iv. 116.
Mæcenas, v. 357.
Mælius, Spurius, stabbed by Servilius Ahala for aspiring to the monarchy, vi. 57.
† *Mæotis*, Palus, iii. 133, 246.
Magæus, brother to Pharnabazus, undertakes to destroy Alcibiades, ii. 171.
Magas, brother to Ptolemy king of Egypt, his life saved by Cleomenes, v. 189.
Magi, the Persian, iv. 243. vi. 117.
†*Magnesia*, a city given to Themistocles by the king of Persia, to supply him with bread, i. 354.
Magnesian citizen. Antony gives the estate of one to a cook for dressing a supper, v. 447.
†*Magnesians*, iii. 43, 50.
Mago, the Carthaginian admiral, joins Icetes in his attempt upon Syracuse, ii. 252. Miscarries, and returns to Africa, 256.
Maia, i. 201.
Maimacterion, ii. 480.
Malchus, king of Arabia, sends forces to the assistance of Antony, v. 484.
Malcites and Diogiton, sent by the Thebans into Thessaly to revenge the death of Pelopidas, ii. 385.
†*Malea*, promontory of, v. 140. vi. 163.
Maliac Bay, ii. 31.
†*Malli*. Alexander's danger in the attack of their city, iv. 334.
Mallius, or Manlius, Lucius, an assistant to Cato the Elder, in attempting the heights near Thermopylæ, ii. 510.
Mamercii, pretend to be descendents of Mamercus, the son of Numa, i. 204.
Mamercus, the son of Numa, i. 180.
———, the son of Pythagoras, ii. 282.
———, tyrant of Catana, forms an alliance with Timoleon, ii.

246. Envies his achievements, and enters into a league with the Carthaginians, 266. Is beaten by Timoleon, and flies to Hippo, tyrant of Messana, 270, 271. Surrenders to Timoleon, and is sent to Syracuse, where, upon his trial for breach of faith, and other crimes, he attempts to kill himself, but is prevented and put to a severer death, 271.

† *Mamertines*, a warlike people, inhabitants of Messina, iii. 99.

Mamurius Veturius. See *Veturius*.

Mancinus, Caius, the consul, is beaten by the Numantines, and makes peace; for which he is disgraced and imprisoned, and the peace annulled, v. 203—205.

† *Mandonium*, v. 135.

Mandricidas, the Spartan, tells Pyrrhus, 'if he is a god, he will do them no injustice; if a man, there will be found as good a one as he,' iii. 106.

Mandroclidas, the son of Ecphanes, assists Agis in his schemes for restoring the Spartan constitution to it's original purity, v. 138. Called to account for it by the Ephori, 145.

Manilius expelled the senate by Cato, ii. 517.

——— the tribune, his law in favour of Pompey, iv. 161. Accused of having robbed the public, and defended by Cicero, v. 303, 304.

Manipuli, what so called, i. 60.

Manipulares, i. 60.

Manius Acilius Glabrio, sent against Antiochus, whom he defeats at Thermopylæ, iii. 23, 50.

——— *Aquilius*, iii. 137.

——— *Curius Dentatus* triumphs thrice, ii. 494. Cato the Elder often visits his little farm, *ib.* He defeats Pyrrhus, *ib.* His answer to the Samnite embassadors who offered him gold, *ib.* 495.

Manlius, Titus, the temple of Janus shut in his consulship, i. 203.

———, with Sylla's veterans, engaged in Catiline's conspiracy, v. 308.

———, Torquatus, causes his own son to be beheaded for fighting without orders, though he gained the victory, ii. 78.

———, who saved the Capitol, put to death for aspiring to the supreme power in Rome, i. 408.

———, the tribune, opposes Flaminius in his solicitation for the consulship, iii. 32.

——— defeated by the Ambrones, iii. 143.

———, Lucius, defeated by Sertorius' lieutenant, iv. 16.

———, Lucius. See *Mallius*.

——— conspires against Sertorius, iv. 34.

———, his application to Tiberius Gracchus, v. 210, 211.

† *Mantinea*, iii. 2, 13. Besieged by Cleomenes, v. 161. Taken by Aratus, v. 161. vi. 190. Its name changed to Antigonia, vi. 200. Battle of Mantinea, ii. 131.

† *Marathon*, a city of Tetrapolis, i. 15, *n.* Battle of, ii. 452.

Marathonian bull, conquered by Theseus, i. 14, 15, and *n.*

Marathus, to fulfil an oracle, offers himself up at the head of the army, i. 41.
Marcellinus and Domitius, demand of Pompey, whether he will stand for the consulship or not, iii. 467. iv. 190.
Marcellus, brother-in-law to Cæsar Octavianus, v. 347.
———, Marcus, goes with Crassus to Cicero's house at midnight, with letters relating to Catiline's conspiracy, v. 309.
———, the tribune, son of the conqueror of Syracuse, ii. 435.
———, son of Caius, his mother Octavia dedicates a library, and Augustus a theatre, to his memory, ii. 437.
——— the consul, calls Cæsar a public robber, iv. 200. Commands Pompey to prepare for the defence of his country, 201.
——— the quæstor, v. 66. Collegue with Cato, *ib.*
MARCELLUS, Marcus Claudius, consecrates the Spolia Opima to Jupiter Feretrius, i. 76. The original of his family, ii. 389. Whence the surname of Marcellus, *ib.* His great skill in war, particularly in single combat, 390. He rescues his brother Otacilius, *ib.* Appointed ædile and augur, *ib.* Appointed consul, and takes Cneius Cornelius for his collegue, 394. Viridomarus, king of the Gesatæ, laying waste the country about the Po, Marcellus defeats and kills him, 395, 396. Consecrates the Spolia Opima to Jupiter Feretrius, 396. Is honoured with a triumph, 397. Is sent with a fleet to Sicily to oppose Annibal, 399. After the great blow at Cannæ, sends fifteen hundred men to assist in the defence of Rome, *ib.* Is ordered to head the remainder of the Roman army, which had retired to Canusium, *ib.* What Annibal said of him, 400. Marches to the relief of Naples and Nola, *ib.* Recovers Bandius to the Roman interest, 401. Defeats Annibal, *ib.* 402. Is called to the consulate, but lays it down, upon the omens being declared inauspicious, 402. Attacks Annibal when he had sent out large detachments for plunder, and defeats him again, 403. Three hundred of Annibal's cavalry come over to him, *ib.* On the death of Hieronymus, the Carthaginians assert their claim to Sicily again, and Marcellus, now consul the third time, is sent into that island, 404. With much difficulty he procures leave from the senate to employ the fugitives from Cannæ, 405. Takes Leontium, *ib.* Attacks Syracuse both by sea and land, 406. Prepares a prodigious machine upon eight gallies fastened together, *ib.* This machine called 'Sambuca,' broken in pieces by Archimedes, 410—412. Turns into a blockade the siege of Syracuse, 413. Takes Megara in Sicily, 414. Attacks Hippocrates at Acrillæ, and kills eight thousand of his men, *ib.* In the conferences held with the Syracusans about the ransom of Damippus, he takes notice of a tower which might be gained, *ib.* In the night of Diana's festival he gets into the city, and forcibly enters the Hexapylum, 415, 416. His officers compliment him on his taking the city, but he weeps at the thought of what it was to suffer, 416. He is much afflicted at the unhappy fate of Archimedes, 418. His mercy to the people of Enguium, 421. He is called home to carry on the

war against Annibal, *ib.* Carries with him the most valuable of the statues and paintings from Syracuse, *ib.* Is satisfied with an Ovation, 423. Accused by the Syracusans before the senate, but honourably acquitted, 424—426. Continues his protection to them notwithstanding; and their liberty and laws by his means are confirmed to them, 426. Marches againts Annibal, and acts with more vigour than the officers before him, *ib.* Recovers the best towns of the Samnites, and makes three thousand of Annibal's men prisoners, 427. Cneius Fulvius, the proconsul, with eleven tribunes, and great part of his army being slain in Apulia, Marcellus revenges his death, *ib.* Annibal lays many snares for him, but he escapes them, 428. Confirms Quintus Fulvius dictator, his collegue having refused to nominate him, 428, 429. Watches the motions of Annibal, while Fabius Maximus besieges Tarentum, 429. Is beaten at Canusium, 429. Renews the charge the next day, and amply redeems the Roman honour, 430, 431. Retires to Sinuessa, for the refreshment of his wounded soldiers, 431. Is accused by Bibulus of neglect of duty, *ib.* Is honourably acquitted and chosen consul a fifth time, 432. Allays a dangerous commotion in Tuscany, *ib.* Does not succeed in his desire to dedicate his temple to Honour and Virtue, *ib.* Is extremely desirous to fight a decisive battle with Annibal, 433. Fixes his camp between Bantia and Venusia, 433. Going with a few horse to reconnoitre a hill in order to encamp upon it, is killed by a stratagem of Annibal's, 435. Annibal, after having taken Marcellus' signet, gives the body a magnificent funeral, and sends the ashes in a silver urn to his son, 436. Marcellus' public donations, 437. The inscription on the pedestal of his statue in the temple of Minerva at Lindus, *ib.* His posterity continues in great splendour down to Marcellus, nephew and son-in-law of Augustus, *ib.*

Marcia, daughter of Philip, and wife to Cato the philosopher, v. 73. She is married to Hortensius, with the consent of Cato, and when a rich widow Cato takes her again, 74, 101.

Marcius, or Martius, Numa's kinsman, persuades him to accept the crown which the Romans offered him, i. 174. Starves himself to death, 205.

———, son of Marcius, marries Pompilia, the daughter of Numa, i. 205. Is the father of Ancus Marcius, *ib.* Publius and Quintus Marcius supply Rome with water, ii. 174.

———, Caius Marcius. See *Coriolanus.*

——— *Philippus*, ii. 333.

——— employed by Catiline to kill Cicero, v. 310.

†———, Mount, i. 403.

Marcus Crassus. See *Crassus.*

——— *Æmilius Lepidus*, declared chief of the senate by Paulus Æmilius, ii. 333. See all the other *Marci* under their family-names.

Mardian, conducts the Romans out of Parthia, v. 465, *et seq.*

Mardion, the eunuch, v. 483.

Mardonius, Xerxes' general, ii. 460. Pausanias acts as com-

mander in chief against him, 470. And Aristides at the head of the Athenians, 469. He is killed in the battle of Platææ, 475.

Mares, the graves of those of Cimon near his own, ii. 499, 500.

Margian steel, iii. 481.

Margites, why Demosthenes called Alexander by that name, v. 278, and *n*.

Marica, a comedy of Eupolis so called, iii. 403.

Marician grove, dedicated to the nymph of Marica, iii. 171.

MARIUS, Caius, had no third name, iii. 120. His statue at Ravenna, 121. Stern in his countenance, and intractable in his disposition, *ib.* The disadvantage of his having no knowledge of the Greek literature, 122. His parents obscure and indigent people, *ib.* His father's name the same with his, and his mother's Fulcinia, *ib.* Born at a village in the territory of Arpinum, *ib.* Makes his first campaign under Scipio at the siege of Numantia, *ib.* Scipio foretels that he would one day be a great general, 123. When tribune of the people, he proposes a law which lessened the authority of the patricians in matters of judicature, and carries it against the consul, *ib.* Opposes the plebeians with respect to a distribution of corn, 124. Applies for the office of ædile, and loses it, *ib.* Is accused of bribery in his application for the prætorship, and gains the office with great difficulty, *ib.* Goes proprætor to the Farther Spain, and clears it of robbers, 125. Marries Julia, of the family of the Cæsars, 126. Instance of his fortitude in bearing an operation in surgery, *ib.* Metellus takes him as one of his lieutenants in the war against Jugurtha, *ib.* He practises against Metellus, and takes every method to recommend himself to the common soldiers, *ib.* 127. Prevails upon Metellus to pass sentence of death on his friend Turpilius, who had lost the town of Vacca, and then insults him for it, 128. Applies to Metellus for leave to go and stand for the consulship, which he gains only twelve days before the election, 129. On his arrival at Rome, by false charges against Metellus, and great promises to the people, he prevails on them to elect him, *ib.* His insolent speeches against the nobility, 130. Sylla, Marius' quæstor, endeavours to rob Marius of the honour of his exploits in Africa, as Marius had done Metellus, *ib.* Marius is elected consul again, though absent, in order to his going general against the Teutones and Cimbri, who were marching toward Italy with an army of three hundred thousand men, 132, 134. He triumphs for the conquest of Jugurtha, who is led captive, 135. He enters the senate in his triumphal robe, *ib.* He trains his soldiers to labour, and disciplines them in an excellent manner, *ib.* He obtains a third and fourth consulship, because the Romans did not choose to meet the barbarians under any other general, 136, 137. He encamps by the river Rhone, and makes a cut in the mouth of that river, in order to the supplying of his camp the better with provisions, 137. The Teutones and Ambrones challenge him to battle, 138. He accustoms his men to the uncouth and

terrible looks of the enemy, *ib.* The troops complain of his restraining them from action, 139. He makes great use of the pretended prophecies of a Syrian woman named Martha, *ib.* 140. The Teutones attempt his entrenchments, and lose a number of men, 141. They march by, and ask the Romans, whether they have any commands to Rome, 142. Marius follows, and prepares for battle near Aquæ Sextiæ, *ib.* Pitches upon a camp that afforded little water, *ib.* Defeats the Ambrones, 145. Despatches Claudius Marcellus, to lie in ambush behind the enemy with three thousand men, *ib.* Defeats them in another battle, *ib.* 146. The troops vote Marius such of the tents as were not plundered, 146. As he is preparing to set fire to piles of the enemy's arms, news is brought him of his being elected consul a fifth time, 147. His joy damped by the defeat of Catullus, by the Cimbri, 148. He goes to Rome, but refuses the triumph that was offered him, 149. Joins Catullus, 150. What passed between Marius and the embassadors of the Cimbri, *ib.* He contrives a new form for the javelin, *ib.* His answer to Boiorix, king of the Cimbri, who challenges him to battle, 151. The battle described, 151, 152. The desperate behaviour of the Cimbri and their women, on the defeat, 153, 154. Marius gains the honour of the day, though Catullus did the most service, 154. He is called the third founder of Rome, *ib.* He courts the people for a sixth consulship, 155. Timid in popular assemblies, *ib.* Obtains the consulship by the assistance of Glaucius and Saturninus, throws out Metellus, and gets Valerius Flaccus elected his collegue, 156. Abets Saturninus in his Agrarian law; in the murther of Nonius; and in a clause obliging the senate to confirm whatever the people should enact, 157. By means of the snare which lurked in that clause, and Marius' prevarication, Metellus is banished, 158, 159. Marius acts a double part between the nobility and the seditious tribunes, 159. Saturninus and the rest of the cabal fly into the Capitol, but are forced to submit for want of water, 160. Marius tries to save them, but they are despatched by the people, on their coming down into the Forum, *ib.* He declines offering himself for the censorship, through fear of a repulse, *ib.* On the recall of Metellus, he takes a voyage into Asia, and endeavours to stir up Mithridates to war, in hopes of being appointed general against him, *ib.* 161. Bocchus, king of Numidia, erects in the Capitol a set of figures, comprising the history of his delivering up Jugurtha to Sylla, which inflames the jealousy of Marius, *ib.* A civil war is prevented, for the present, by the breaking out of the Marsian war, or the war of the allies, 162. Marius does not distinguish himself in that war, like Sylla, *ib.* Yet he kills six thousand of the enemy in one battle, and suffers not Pompedius Silo, one of their best generals, to take any advantage of him, *ib.* He lays down his command under pretence of inability, 163. Yet he solicits the chief command against Mithridates, through the tribune Sulpitius, *ib.* Takes his exercises in the Campus Martius, like a young man, *ib.* Sulpitius having killed the son

of one of the consuls, and put the other consul to flight, decrees the command to Marius, 164, 165. Marius sends two officers to Sylla, with orders that he should deliver up the army, 165. Sylla puts those officers to death, and marches immediately toward Rome, *ib.* Marius, after some cruelties, and a vain attempt to raise forces, flies, *ib.* His friends desert him, *ib.* He retires to Salonium, a little villa of his; and from thence to Ostia, where he embarks, attended only by Granius, *ib.* Young Marius is in danger, but is saved by a bailiff of his father-in-law Mutius, and carried toward Rome in a cart-load of beans, *ib.* Young Marius sails for Africa, 166. The elder Marius coasts Italy, *ib.* Distressed by fear of his old enemies, his infirmities, and bad weather, he goes on shore at Circæum, *ib.* In great want of provisions, and hunted by Sylla's soldiers; yet encourages his little company by a prophecy, that he should gain a seventh consulship, *ib.* 167. He espies a troop of horse making toward him, and with much difficulty gets on board a vessel, *ib.* 168. The mariners, after having refused to surrender him to the horsemen, set him ashore near the mouth of the river Liris, and there desert him, 168. He applies to a cottager to hide him, *ib.* On the noise of persons sent by Geminius to search for him, he leaves the cave where he was lurking, and plunges into one of the marshes, 169. He is discovered, and carried to Minturnæ, *ib.* The magistrates place him at the house of Fannia, who had an inveterate aversion to him, *ib.* She forgets her resentment, and entertains Marius in the best manner, 170. He is encouraged by an omen, *ib.* The magistrates of Minturnæ pass sentence of death upon him, *ib.* The executioner, who was either a Gaul or a Cimbrian, trembles at his voice, and at a light which darted from his eyes, *ib.* The soldier reports this to the people, and they resolve to conduct him wherever he pleased, 171. They lead him even through the Marcian grove, *ib.* He goes on board a vessel provided by one Belæus, *ib.* Finds his son-in-law, Granius, in the isle of Ænaria, *ib.* Touches at Sicily, from whence he escapes with difficulty, *ib.* Is informed in the island of Meninx, that his son Marius had escaped to Africa, and was gone to implore succour of Hiempsal, 172. Lands in Africa, and receives a message from the prætor Sextilius, commanding him to depart, *ib.* His noble answer, *ib.* The king of Numidia detains young Marius at his court; but a love adventure sets him free, and he returns to his father, *ib.* 173. The omen of two scorpions fighting, puts Marius upon escaping to a neighbouring island, and soon after he sees a party of Numidian horse in pursuit of him, 173. Being informed of the quarrel between the consuls Cinna and Octavius, he sails to join Cinna with only one thousand men, 173. He arrives at Telamon, a port of Tuscany, and proclaims liberty to the slaves, *ib.* Collects a considerable force, and fills forty ships, *ib.* 174. Makes Cinna an offer of his assistance, which is accepted, *ib.* Cinna declares him proconsul, and sends him the fasces, which he rejects, *ib.* He cuts off the enemy's convoys at sea, and makes

himself master of the maritime towns, *ib.* Ostia is betrayed to him, *ib.* He enters Rome, after having demurred, under pretence of being an exile, 176. He selects a guard from the slaves, and calls them his Bardiæans, *ib.* These put all to death, whose salutation Marius does not return, *ib.* Account of the dreadful massacres, *ib.* 177, 178. Marius is elected consul the seventh time, and the very day he enters on his office, orders Sextus Licinus to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, *ib.* 179. Finds his faculties fail, *ib.* Has recourse to the bottle, *ib.* Becomes delirious, 180. Dies at the age of seventy, with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who had not obtained what he wanted, *ib.* His death productive of the greatest joy in Rome, 181. His son treads in the steps of his cruelty, and comes to an untimely end, *ib.*

Marius, son of Caius Marius, iii. 165. Goes to beg succours of Hiempsal, king of Numidia, 172. Is detained at his court, but makes his escape by the assistance of a young woman that fell in love with him, *ib.* 173. Is beaten by Sylla, 270. Flies to Præneste, 272. Kills himself, 278.

——— *Celsus*. See *Celsus*.

———, Marcus, proscribed by Sylla, and killed by Catiline, iii. 278.

———, Marcus, a Roman officer, sent by Sertorius to act as general for Mithridates, iii. 337, 343. iv. 32.

———' mules, who so called, iii. 136.

Marphadates, a Cappadocian prince, husband to Psyche, with whom young Cato had an intrigue, v. 122.

Marriage. Customs and ceremonies relating to it at Rome, i. 71. Romulus' laws concerning it, 88. Regulations of Lycurgus, 133, 134. And of Solon, about it, 247, 248.

† *Marrucinians*, ii. 307.

Mars, given out as father of Romulus and Remus, i. 51.

† *Marsi*. Sylla persuades them to declare for the Romans, iii. 233.

Marsyas, put to death by Dionysius the Elder, for a dream, vi. 10.

Martha, a Syrian prophetess, dressed up by Marius with great pomp. She attends him in his expeditions, and he makes great use of her predictions, iii. 139, 140.

Martia. See *Marcia*.

Martial, epigram of, iii. 235, *n.*

Martialis, a tribune, vi. 237.

Martianus, a gladiator, vi. 217.

Martius Rex, marries Tertia, sister of Clodius, v. 328.

———, v. 340.

Marullus, a tribune of the people deposed by Cæsar, iv. 429.

Masinissa, king of Numidia, his wars with the Carthaginians, ii. 529. A steady friend to the Romans, 530.

Masistius, a Persian officer, behaves with great courage, ii. 467. Is killed in battle by the Athenians, 468.

† *Massilia*, or Marseilles, city of, founded by Protus, a merchant, i. 221, and *n.*

Massilians inclose their vineyards with the bones of those who fell in the battle between the Romans and the Teutones, iii. 146.

Matronalia, a feast in honour of the Roman matrons, for their having put an end to the war between the Sabines and the Romans, i. 85.

Matuta, Mater, the temple of a goddess so called by the Romans, i. 367.

Mauriscus, what he said to the senate of Rome, vi. 218.

† *Mauritania*, iv. 12.

Mazæus, upon the impression made on Parmenio by the Bactrian horse, sends a party round to fall on those who guarded Alexander's baggage, iv. 291. Alexander's munificence to the son of Mazæus, 303.

Meal. No sacrifice to be made without it, i. 192.

Mecenas, v. 458.

Mechanics first cultivated as a branch of philosophy by Eudoxus and Archytas, ii. 408.

Medea, wife of Ægeus, i. 13. Supposed to have anointed with naphtha the crown and veil which she gave Creon's daughter, iv. 297.

† *Medes*, their habits, iv. 310.

† *Medica*, ii. 295.

Medimnus. A sheep and a medimnus of corn, each valued at a drachma in Solon's time, i. 252. Of wheat, sold for a thousand drachmas in time of famine, iii. 249.

† *Mediolanum.* See *Milan.*

Medius, a friend of Antigonus, his dream, v. 380.

Medon, son of Codrus, the first Archon at Athens, i. 45, *n*.

Megabacchus, famed for his strength and courage, a friend of young Crassus, iii. 483. Kills himself, 485.

Megabates, son of Spithridates, a favourite of Agesilaus, iv. 83.

Megabyzus, Alexander's letter to him, iv. 306.

Megacles, Archon of Athens, involves the city in the guilt of sacrilege, in the affair of Cylon, i. 232.

———, father of Dinomache, and grandfather of Alcibiades, ii. 112.

———, son of Alcmæon, heads a party of the Athenians, on their breaking into factions after the departure of Solon, i. 263. Pisistratus obtains a guard, and Megacles flies, 266.

———, a friend to Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus tells him, that 'the order of the Roman army has nothing of the barbarian in it,' iii. 87. Pyrrhus changes his dress with him; upon which he is attacked and killed, 89.

———, brother to Dion, joined in commission with Dion by the Syracusans, vi. 28.

Megalæus belonged to the court of Philip, the son of Demetrius, vi. 203.

Megalopolis, taken by Cleomenes, iii. 6. It's inhabitants saved and restored by Philopœmen, *ib.* Hard pressed by Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, 17.

† *Megara* in Macedonia, i. 11, 31, 36. iii. 66.
† ——— in Sicily, ii. 415.
† ——— restored to liberty by Demetrius, v. 371.
Megarensians take Nisæa, and recover Salamis from the Athenians, i. 232. Their manner of sepulture, 230. The Athenians forbid them to set foot on their territories, ii. 44. They are united to the Athenians by Phocion, v. 18.
Megellus migrates from Elea to Agrigentum, which had been ruined by the Carthaginians during the Athenian war, ii. 271.
Megistonoüs marries the mother of Cleomenes, v. 160. Taken prisoner by Aratus, vi. 191.
Melancholy. Aristotle observes that persons of genius have something of it, iii. 189.
Melanippus, son of Theseus by Perigune, i. 10. Has a son named Iöxus, *ib.*
Melanopus the orator, v. 266.
Melantas, vi. 135.
Melanthius the elegiac poet, iii. 297.
————, what he said in praise of Phocion's wife to a player, v. 23, 24.
Melanthus of Sicyon, the celebrated painter, vi. 164.
† *Melas*, river, navigable from it's source, iii. 261. Swells about the summer solstice like the Nile, and produces the same plants, *ib.*
Meleager, Theseus assists him in killing the boar, i. 37.
Melians, inhabitants of Melos, one of the Cyclades, Alcibiades the chief cause of the slaughter among them; yet he thinks he does the island great honour by cohabiting with one of its women, ii. 134. Lysander re-establishes them, iii. 204.
† *Melibœa*, a city in Magnesia, ii. 377.
Melicertes. Ceremonies in the worship of him, i. 31.
Melisippidas, iv. 70.
Melissus, the philosopher, Themistocles studies under him, i. 313.
———, admiral of Samos, beats the Athenians, ii. 40. But is afterward defeated by Pericles, *ib.*
† *Melite*, an Athenian borough, i. 230. v. 24.
† *Melitea*, city of, iii. 260.
Melitus, a torch-bearer, iv. 191.
† *Mellaria*, iv. 16.
Mellirens. See *Irens.*
Melville, Lord Viscount, i. 414, *n.*
Melon, one of the associates of Pelopidas in delivering Thebes, ii. 349.
Memmius, Caius, accuses the two Luculli, iii. 381. v. 78.
———, Pompey's sister's husband. Pompey, after he had reduced Sicily for Sylla, left him governor there, iv. 137.
———, Pompey's lieutenant, killed in battle by Sertorius, iv. 28.
Memnon, the most able of Darius' generals, iv. 266. His death, *ib.* He was husband of Barsine, 272.
† *Memphis*, one of the wonders of Egypt, iii. 329.

Menander, one of the Athenian generals, defeated by Lysander at Ægos Potamos, ii. 168, 169.
———, an officer sent by Mithridates to intercept one of Lucullus' convoys, iii. 349.
———, joined in commission with Nicias, iii. 429. His fatal ambition to fight, 430.
———, had the care of Antigonus' baggage, iv. 51.
———, put to death by Alexander, for deserting a fortress of which he had the command, iv. 326.
———, the poet, alludes to Alexander's passing through the Pamphylian sea, iv. 265.
Menas, a sea-officer under Sextus Pompeius, proposes to him a method to make the whole Roman empire his own, v. 455.
† *Mende*, castle of, iii. 504.
† *Mendes* in Egypt, the prince of it solicits the favour of Agesilaus, iv. 121.
Meneclidas, from a principle of envy, endeavours to set up another against Epaminondas and Pelopidas, ii. 371. Is fined by the Thebans, 372.
Menecrates, the historian, i. 33.
———, an officer in the navy of Sextus Pompeius, v. 455.
———, the physician, iv. 97.
Menedemus, an officer of the bed-chamber to Lucullus, saves his master from an attempt of Olthacus upon his life, iii. 349.
† *Menelaüs'* haven in Africa, Agesilaus dies there, iv. 122.
Menelaüs, brother to Ptolemy king of Egypt, is defeated, and surrenders to Demetrius, v. 377.
Menemachus and *Myron*, sent by Mithridates to intercept a Roman convoy; but their troops are almost totally cut off by Adrian, iii. 349.
Menenius Agrippa, appeases a sedition, by reciting a fable to the people, ii. 181.
Menes. See *Menas*.
Menesthes, one of the young men sent with Theseus by way of tribute to Crete, i. 19.
Menestheus, stirs up the Athenians against Theseus, and takes the reins of government, i. 40, 41. The first, who undertook to be a demagogue, 40. Quietly possesses the kingdom of Athens, 45. His death, *ib.*
———, the orator, v. 10.
Meninx, an island, at which Marius touches in his flight to Africa, iii. 172.
Menippus, has a principal command under Pericles, ii. 25.
———, the Carian, a rhetorician, visited by Cicero, v. 297.
Menœceus, son of Creon, devotes himself to death for his country, ii. 366, *n.*
Menon, Phidias' scholar, accuses him, and Phidias dies in prison, ii. 47, 48.
———, commands the Thessalonian horse in the Persian expedition, v. 30. vi. 120, *n.* 134. The father of Phthia, iii. 66.
Mentor, brother of Memnon, goes with Eumenes to Alexander, when he has a certain complaint to make, iv. 39.

Menyllus commands the garrison which Antipater put in Athens, v. 33. Offers Phocion a sum of money, which he refuses, 35, 36.
Mercedinus, or *Mercedonius*, the Roman intercalary month so called, i. 199. iv. 426.
Merchant, the profession of, honourable, i. 221. Solon follows it some time, 220.
Mercury, i. 33. His statues, ii. 138. iii. 302, *n*. Many of them defaced in one night at Athens, ii. 138. iii. 418.
——— of Ægeus' gate, i. 14.
Merope, daughter of Erectheus, and mother of Dædalus, i. 21.
Merula. See *Cornelius*.
Mesabates, the eunuch, won of Artaxerxes at dice, by Parysatis, and ordered to be flayed alive, for having cut off the head and hand of Cyrus, v. 133.
Mesolabes, mathematical instruments, ii. 408.
† *Mesopotamia*. See the Life of *Crassus*.
Messala, father of Valeria, the wife of Sylla, iii. 281.
——— *Corvinus*, a friend of Cassius and Brutus, fights in the right wing of their army at Philippi, vi. 95. His generous answer to Augustus, 107.
———, consul with Domitius, iv. 194.
† *Messana*, or *Messena*, in Sicily, ii. 255. iii. 99. v. 102. vi. 53.
† *Messapians*, iii. 83. v. 135.
† *Messene* in Peloponnesus, the fertility of the lands about it, i. 122, *n*. Re-established by Epaminondas, iv. 114. Freed from the tyrant Nabis by Philopœmen, iii. 16.
Messengers, of Harpalus find a disagreeable reception from Phocion, v. 25.
Metagenes, continues building the Parthenon, which was begun by Corœbus, ii. 23.
Metageitnion, the month so called, i. 290. v. 286.
† *Metapontum*, ii. 94.
Metella. See *Cæcilia Metella*.
Metellus, Quintus, his invidious observation upon Tiberius Gracchus, v. 214.
———, Quintus, why called 'Celer,' i. 64. Married a sister of Clodius, v. 328.
———, the chief pontiff, marries his daughter to Sylla, iii. 239. His death, iv. 364.
———, Caius, calls upon Sylla to declare whom he will save, and whom destroy, iii. 276.
———, or, as Plutarch calls him, *Metilius* Cimber, gives the signal for the attack upon Cæsar in the senate-house, iv. 434.
———, Quintus Cæcilius, called 'Numidicus,' is general in the war against Jugurtha, iii. 126. Takes Marius for his lieutenant, by whom he is supplanted, *ib*. 127. His firmness and dignity of mind, 155. A saying of his, 158. Banished, 159. Recalled, 160.
———, son of the former, iii. 175.
——— *Pius*, invites Pompey to his assistance, iv. 134. Refuses the challenge of Sertorius, iv. 18. Lays siege to the city of

Langobritæ, but is forced to raise it, *ib.* Is wounded near Saguntum, iv. 28. Promises a hundred talents and twenty thousand acres of land to the man that should kill Sertorius, 29. His vanity upon an advantage gained of Sertorius, *ib.* Grows luxurious as he advances in years, iv. 17.

Metellus Creticus, a relation of the former, iv. 160. Besieges the pirates in one of the towns of Crete, *ib.* Pompey commands him to desist, and he refuses, *ib.* 161.

——— *Nepos*, tribune of the people, v. 69. Opposes Cæsar's opening the treasury at Rome, 399, 400. A decree he proposed, and the means he used to get it passed, v. 75—77. Disappointed by Cato, 76, 77. His behaviour to Cicero, v. 319, 320.

——— *Scipio*, v. 309. Father-in-law to Pompey, iv. 196. See *Scipio.*

Meteoroleschæ, iii. 435.

†*Methone*, vi. 163.

†*Methydrium*, v. 158.

Metilius, the tribune, kinsman to Minutius, ii. 76. Sets up Minutius against Fabius Maximus, 78.

Metæcia, a festival instituted by Theseus, in remembrance of the people of Attica removing to Athens, i. 29.

Meton, the astrologer, to prevent his son's going upon the Sicilian expedition, burns his own house, ii. 136. iii. 419.

———, the Tarentine, feigns himself drunk, to excite the attention of the Tarentines, when he wanted to dissuade them from calling in Pyrrhus, iii. 82.

Metrobius, a player, and favourite of Sylla, iii. 282.

———, the Athenian, iii. 307.

Metrodorus, counsellor to Mithridates, and honoured with the title of his father, iii. 357. Put to death by him for want of fidelity in an embassy to Tigranes, 358.

Metron, iv. 315.

Micion commands a party of Macedonians, v. 29. Is defeated and killed by Phocion, 30.

———, the Athenian, opposes Aratus, vi. 195.

Micipsa, sends the Romans a supply of corn, by way of compliment to Caius Gracchus, and his embassadors are turned out of the senate, v. 225.

Midas, iv. 266, 366.

Midias, an Athenian exile, begs Sylla to spare the city, iii. 251.

———. Demosthenes drops his accusation against him for a sum of money, v. 265.

†*Mieza*, a lawn. Aristotle erects a school of Philosophy there for the people of Stagira, iv. 248.

†*Milan* taken by the Romans, ii. 397. What passed between the people and Augustus Cæsar, vi. 112.

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† *Miletus*, iii. 211. iv. 264, 358. The people at war with those of Samos, ii. 38.

Military tribunes, elected for a time by the Romans instead of consuls, i. 361. Their number, *ib.*

Milo, detached by Perseus to oppose Scipio Nasica in his attempting an entrance by the mountains, ii. 301.
——, a candidate for the consulship, v. 96.
——, Annius, the tribune, seizes and kills Clodius, v. 334. Defended by Cicero, *ib.* 335.
Miltas of Thessaly, a diviner and friend of Dion, vi. 21.
Miltiades, the first in dignity and authority of the ten Athenian generals at Marathon, ii. 451. The olive crown denied him after his victory, iii. 303. The father of Cimon, 299. His trophy excites the emulation of Themistocles, i. 9. Is fined and dies in prison, iii. 297.
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Mimallones, the Bacchanals so called, iv. 240, 241.
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Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, ii. 154. Defeated by Alcibiades, and slain, 156.
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†*Minoa*, island of, iii. 406. vi. 25.
Minos, demands tribute of the Athenians on account of his son Androgeus having been killed in Attica, i. 15. Institutes games in honour of Androgeus, 16. Pursues Dædalus, is shipwrecked on the coast of Sicily and dies, 21. Two of that name kings of Crete, 23. Why abused by the dramatic poets at Athens, 17.
Minotaur, the Cretan monster, slain by Theseus, i. 20.
†*Minturnæ*, Marius lurks in the marshes near it, but is taken and brought before the magistrates of that place, iii. 169.
Minucius, or *Minutius*, chosen dictator, but obliged to quit his office for the crying of a rat, ii. 394.
————, Marcus, one of the first quæstors, i. 288.
————, Thermus, tribune of the people, v. 76.
————, Caius, i. 274.
————, Lucius, appointed by Fabius Maximus his general of horse, ii. 69. His vanity and presumption, 72. Gains some advantage of Annibal in the absence of Fabius, 77. Persuades the people to give him equal authority with the dictator, 78. Is worsted by Annibal, and seasonably relieved by Fabius, 81, 82. His submission and speech to Fabius, 83, 84.
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Mirrors, concave ones, by which the fire of Vesta was to be rekindled, i. 183.
†*Misenum.* Marius' villa there, iii. 163.

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Mithra, it's Mysteries, iv. 154.
Mithras, or *Mithra*, the sun worshipped under that name by the Persians, iv. 287. vi. 118.
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———, the son of Ariobarzanes, what passed between him and Demetrius, v. 366.
———, the Parthian, his advice to Antony, v. 470, 471.
———, rewarded by Artaxerxes for wounding Cyrus, vi. 129. Put to death for claiming the honour of what he had done, 131.
———, a native of Pontus, laughs at Galba's withered face and bald head, vi. 223. Is put to death by Galba, 224.
———, king of Commagene, v. 484.
Mithrobarzanes sent by Tigranes against Lucullus, iii. 362. Is killed in battle, 363.
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†*Mitylene*, i. 237, *n.* iv. 221.
†*Mityleneans*, punished by Lucullus for having joined Marius' party, iii. 331, 332. Set up Pittacus as prince, i. 236.
Mnasitheus, a friend of Aratus, vi. 158.
Mnemon. See *Artaxerxes*.
Mnesicles, the Athenian architect, five years in finishing the portico of the citadel, ii. 24.
Mnesiphilus, Themistocles' preceptor in political knowledge, i. 313.

Mnesiptolema, Themistocles' daughter, devoted to Cybele by the direction of that goddess, i. 355.
Mnestheus, the notice taken of him by Homer, iii. 303.
Mnestra, one of Cimon's mistresses, iii. 299.
Modesty, the ornament of the fair sex, i. 212.
Molo, Apollonius, Cicero and Cæsar attend his lectures at Rhodes. See *Apollonius*.
†*Molossians*, i. 40. iii. 65, *et seq.*
Molus, river, iii. 259.
Molpadia, an Amazon, i. 35.
Molossus, an Athenian general, v. 17.
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Moneses, a Parthian nobleman, revolts to Antony, but soon deserts him, v. 460, 461.
Moneta, her temple, i. 84, 408.
Money, of the ancient Romans, had the impression of an ox, sheep, &c. i. 287.
———. See *Lucullian*. Athenian, why stamped with the figure of an ox, i. 30, 287.
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Monime, refuses all the offers of Mithridates, except that of marriage, iii. 351. Lives unhappy, *ib.* Attempts to hang herself in her diadem, and it breaks, 351.
Month, intercalary. See *Mercidinus*.
Months, the Roman, whence named, i. 199. Do not answer to the Grecian months, 65. Numa adds two to the calendar, 200. The irregularity of the Grecian, ii. 262, *n*.
Monuments, the custom of pouring oil upon them very ancient, iv. 260, 261.
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———, considered as a goddess, iii. 243.
Moons, three seen at Ariminum at one time, before the defeat of the Gauls by Flaminius, ii. 392.
†*Morius*, river, iii. 256.
Mother Earth. See *Vesta*.
Mothers, what goddesses so called, ii. 420, *n*.
Mountains, what the height of the highest, ii. 301.
Mourning, the time allowed for it at Rome, i. 187. And at Sparta, 153.
Mucianus, general of the army in Syria when Galba is declared emperor, vi. 247.
Mulberry, Sylla's face compared to one strewed over with meal, iii. 231.
Mules. See *Marius'* mules.
Mummius, Lucius, who destroyed Corinth, prevents the defacing

of Philopœmen's monument, iii. 29. Gains the surname of Achaius, 120.
Mummius, the lieutenant of Crassus, defeated by Spartacus, iii. 460.
———, Caius, iii. 244.
Munatius Plancus, goes over to Antony, v. 433.
———, Cato's friend, v. 56, 79. The difference between him and Cato, 85. They are reconciled, 87.
† *Munda*, a city of Spain, iv. 421.
Mundus, the name of the ditch drawn about the place where Rome was erected, i. 64.
† *Munychia*, Epimenides foretells that fort would one day contribute to the miseries of Athens, i. 234. v. 52, 371.
Munychion, the month so called, i. 19. iii. 205. v. 43, 389.
Munychus, i. 43.
Muræna, commands the left wing of Sylla's army in the battle with Archelaus near Chæronea, iii. 256.
———, Lucullus' lieutenant, blocks up the city of Amisus, iii. 346. Pursues and defeats Tigranes, 363.
———, Lucius, chosen consul with Silanus, v. 309. Accused of bribery by Cato, v. 70. Is acquitted, 71. Behaves in a very respectful manner to Cato, 70, 71, 77.
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Musæus, the poet, buried in, and gives name to, the Museum at Athens, i. 34, *n*.
Muse, of silence, called Tacita, i. 179.
Muses, their temple, iii. 256.
Museum, at Athens, i. 34.
Music allied to war, i. 145, 146. The Lacedæmonian music, 146.
Muthos. See *Mythos*.
Mutia, wife of Pompey, false to his bed while he is upon his Asiatic expedition, iv. 179. He divorces her, *ib*.
† *Mutina*, or *Modena*, Antony beaten there, v. 441.
Mutius, or *Mucius*, why called 'Scævola,' i. 295, 296. Attempts to kill Porsena, 295. Mistakes and burns off his right-hand, *ib*. 296.
———, father-in-law of Marius, iii. 165. His bailiff saves young Marius by sending him off in a load of beans, *ib*.
———, a retainer to Tiberius Gracchus, made tribune through his interest, v. 213.
——— *Scævola* the lawyer, iii. 282. v. 208, 295.
† *Mycale*, Mount, ii. 5, *n*. Battle of, ii. 314.
† *Mycenæans*, colony in Africa, settled by Hercules, iv. 13.
† *Mygdonia*, iii. 374.
† *Mylassa*, v. 23.
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Myrocles the orator, v. 267.
Myron, the person who managed the charge against the persons called 'execrable,' in the case of Cylon, i. 232.
Myronides, the Athenian orator and statesman, ii. 478.

† *Myrrhinus* a borough of Attica, v. 261, *n.*
Myrtilus, cup-bearer to Pyrrhus. Gelon attempts to bring him into a plot to poison his master, but he discovers the plot to Pyrrhus, iii. 71.
Myrsilus the historian, vi. 155.
Myrtle sacred to Venus, ii. 424.
Myrto, grand-daughter of Aristides, ii. 489. Socrates is said to have married her out of charity, *ib.*
† *Mysia*, vi. 247.
Mysteries of Ceres, v. 33. Mimicked by Alcibiades, ii. 138. i. 39, *n.* Demetrius admitted to them, contrary to all the rules, v. 389.
Mythos, or *Muthos*, a name given to Demetrius, because he had his *Lamia*, v. 390.
† *Mytilene*, declared by Pompey a free city, iv. 178.
† *Myus*, a city given to Themistocles, to supply him with meat, i. 354.

N.

NABATHEAN Arabs. Demetrius marches against them, and brings off considerable booty, v. 368.
Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, surprises Messene, iii. 16. But flies on the approach of Philopœmen, *ib.* At war with the Romans and Achæans, 18. Slain by the Ætolians, 20.
Nails, Agnon the Teian wears silver ones in his shoes, iv. 303.
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Naphtha, a kind of bitumen found in the provinces of Babylon, iv. 296. Easily catches fire, *ib.* See *Medea.*
† *Naples*, ii. 400.
† *Narnia*, iii. 32.
Nasica, Publius, why an enemy to Tiberius Gracchus, v. 213. Insists that the consul shall proceed against him as a tyrant, 219. Leads a party to the Capitol, which kills him, 220. The senate, after this, send him embassador into Asia, because he is become extremely obnoxious to the people, *ib.* He dies near Pergamus, *ib.* See *Scipio Nasica.*
Naucrates, the orator, persuades the cities of Lycia to oppose Brutus, vi. 85.
† *Nauplia*, iii. 112.
Nausitheus, Theseus' pilot, i. 18.
† *Naxos*, i. 22, 23. The victory of Chabrias and Phocion there, v. 9. Colonised by Pericles, ii. 19.
Nealces the painter, vi. 165. Endeavours to dissuade Aratus from destroying a capital painting of a tyrant, *ib.*
Neander, a young man who assisted in carrying off Pyrrhus in his infancy, iii. 66.
Neapolis, part of Syracuse, ii. 416.
Nearchus, the Pythagorean, ii. 495.

Nearchus, the Cretan, uses his interest with Antigonus to save Eumenes, but fails in the attempt, iv. 65.
———, banished Macedon by Philip, but subsequently recalled by Alexander, iv. 254. Alexander's admiral, iv. 39. Gives Alexander an account of his voyage, iv. 351.
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Nectanabis, revolts from Tachos, iv. 119. Agesilaus deserts Tachos, and serves Nectanabis, 120.
Neleus, the Scepsian. Theophrastus bequeaths to him his writings, iii. 267.
Nemea, the courtesan, ii. 134.
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Nemean games. See *Games*.
Neochorus of Haliartus, kills Lysander, iii. 226.
Neocles, father of Themistocles, i. 311.
———, son of Themistocles, i. 357.
Neon, the Bœotian, ii. 311.
Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, settles in Epirus, and leaves a long succession of kings, iii. 65.
———, raised to the throne by the Molossians, when they revolted from Pyrrhus, iii. 69. Pyrrhus returns, and associates him in the government, 70. He agrees, or it is pretended that he agrees, to the poisoning of Pyrrhus, 71. Is killed by Pyrrhus, *ib.*
———, one of Mithridates' officers, beaten by Lucullus at sea, iii. 331.
———, captain of Alexander's life-guard, after the death of that prince, endeavours to lessen the reputation of Eumenes, iv. 38, 39. Is defeated and killed by Eumenes, 47.
———, father of Olympias, iv. 239, *n.*
Neptune, worshipped by the Trœzenians as their tutelar deity, i. 7. His temple in Calauria, v. 287. His titles of 'Asphalius,' i. 47. 'Gaieochus,' *ib.* 'The Equestrian,' 70. His temple at Sparta, v. 149. Theseus reputed to be his son, i. 7.
Nero. In him Antony's offspring gain the imperial power, for he was the fifth in descent from Antony, v. 508. Proclaims liberty to Greece at Corinth, iii. 47. His great enormities, vi. 223. He kills his mother, and almost ruins the Roman empire, *ib.* His rage upon being informed that Galba was declared emperor, 215. His death, 217.
†*Nervii*, the most warlike of the Belgæ, defeated by Cæsar, iv. 382, 383.
Neuters, in time of sedition, infamous by Solon's law, i. 246.
Nicæa, widow of Alexander of Corinth, is married to Demetrius, and Antigonus gets the citadel of Corinth from her, vi. 168, 169.
Nicagoras of Trœzene, makes a decree very favourable to the wives and children of the Athenians, who retired thither upon the invasion of Xerxes, i. 326, 327.
——— the Messenian, a secret enemy to Cleomenes, v. 191.
Nicanor, sent to receive Eumenes, who was delivered up by the Argyraspides, iv. 63.

Nicanor, the commission of Menyllus in Munychia given him by Cassander, v. 37. His firm dependence on Phocion, 38. He makes an attempt upon the Piræus, 39.

Nicarchus, great-grandfather to Plutarch, v. 491.

† *Nice* in Bithynia, it's history by Menecrates, i. 33.

Niceratus, father of Nicias, iii. 399.

———, the poet, the contest between him and Antimachus, which should write the best poem in praise of Lysander, iii. 210, 211.

Nicias of Enguium, ii. 420.

NICIAS, son of Niceratus, iii. 399. Younger than Pericles, yet often his collegue in the wars, *ib.* The nobility hope he will prove a barrier against the insolence of Cleon, 400. He is equally favoured by the people, *ib.* Naturally timid and cold-hearted, *ib.* Applies his wealth to the purposes of popularity, particularly in public exhibitions, *ib.* Enfranchises a slave, who had appeared with applause in the character of Bacchus, 401. His regulations with respect to the chorus that was sent to the isle of Delos in honour of Apollo, *ib.* He consecrates a palm-tree of brass, and a piece of ground to Apollo, 402. Is pious to a degree of superstition, *ib.* Has silver-mines in the borough of Laurium, *ib.* 403. Gives money, not only to those who deserved his bounty, but to such as might be able to do him harm, 403. Goes seldom into company, and pretends to be for ever intent upon the business of the state, 404. His retainer Hiero holds out these pretences to the people, *ib.* His life is, in fact, a life of great fear and care, 405. When he takes the command, he makes it his business to proceed upon a sure plan, *ib.* Takes Cythera, 406. Recovers many places in Thrace, *ib.* Makes himself master of the isle of Minoa, and the port of Nisæa, *ib.* Defeats the Megarensians and Corinthians, *ib.* Chooses to loose his trophy, rather than leave two of his men unburied, *ib.* 407. Takes the fortress of Thyræa, 407. His enemy Cleon, who had prevented a peace with the Lacedæmonians, now raises a clamour against him about the siege of Pylos, 408. Nicias gives up to him the command, *ib.* He is no sooner clear of Cleon, than Alcibiades begins to oppose him in the administration, 410. Nevertheless, he effectuates a peace with the Lacedæmonians, 411. Alcibiades endeavours to embroil the two powers again, and draws the Lacedæmonian embassadors from Nicias by false promises, 413. Nicias desires to be sent to Sparta, to adjust the matters in dispute, but does not succeed in that commission, 414. The quarrel rises so high between Nicias and Alcibiades, that the people propose to banish one of them by the Ostracism, 415. Nicias and Alcibiades join interests, and turn the Ostracism upon Hyperbolus, 416. The Ægesteans and Leontines desiring the Athenians to undertake the Sicilian expedition, Nicias opposes it, but is over-ruled by the arts of Alcibiades, 417. Though appointed general along with Alcibiades and Lamachus, he still protests against the war, *ib.* 420. His timid proceedings in the conduct of it,

420. Alcibiades being called home, to take his trial for defacing the Hermæ and profaning the Mysteries, Nicias has the chief authority, 421. He lays siege to the little town of Hybla, and does not take it, 423. Rases Hyccara, *ib.* Draws the Syracusan forces to Catana by stratagem, and in the mean time seizes the ports of Syracuse, and encamps in an advantageous situation, *ib.* 424. Attacks, with some success, the Syracusans on their return, 424. Prevents his troops from taking the temple of Jupiter Olympius, *ib.* Winters in Naxos, a city between Syracuse and Catana, *ib.* The Syracusans make another excursion as far as Catana, 425. Nicias, who is as vigorous in executing as he is slow in resolving, returns to Syracuse, gains the peninsula of Thapsos, and gets possession of Epipolæ, *ib.* Beats not only the Syracusan infantry, but their cavalry, *ib.* Encloses Syracuse almost entirely with a wall, *ib.* Is taken ill, and during his illness Lamachus is defeated by the Syracusans, 426. Saves his camp by setting fire to the machines before the entrenchments, *ib.* The cities declare for him, and supply him with provisions in great abundance, 427. Treats Gylippus with contempt, who comes to Syracuse with a large army, and offers him a safe conduct, provided he will quit Sicily, 428. Defeats that general in the first engagement, *ib.* Is beaten in the second, 429. Falls into his old despondence, and applies to the Athenians, either for another army, or else to be recalled, *ib.* They send him a reinforcement and money by Eurymedon, *ib.* He gains some advantage by sea, *ib.* Loses the fort of Plemmyrium, in which were lodged the Athenian stores and money, 430. Is forced by his collegues, Menander and Euthydemus, to give battle at sea, and is beaten, *ib.* Demosthenes arrives with a formidable fleet, 431. He, too, is ambitious to come immediately to a decisive action, *ib.* Nicias represents to him the Syracusans' want of money, and their being tired of Gylippus, but cannot prevail upon him to wait, *ib.* 432. Demosthenes attacks Epipolæ in the night, and has some advantage at first, but proceeds too far, and is entirely defeated, *ib.* 433. Demosthenes gives his opinion for returning to Athens; but Nicias, afraid of impeachments there, opposes it, 433, 434. Fresh forces coming in to the Syracusans, and sickness prevailing in the Athenian camp, Nicias agrees to return, 434. Loses his opportunity by his superstitious fears of an eclipse of the moon, *ib.* Intent upon his sacrifices, till he is surrounded both by sea and land, 436. His fleet is defeated, and Eurymedon slain, *ib.* The Athenians insist on his leading them off by land, but he resolves to risque another naval action, 437. Abandons his great camp and his walls, *ib.* The sea-fight described, *ib.* After the defeat of Nicias, Hermocrates by a stratagem prevents him from retiring in the night, when he might have done it safely, 438. The Athenians beginning their march, with every circumstance of misery before them, Nicias behaves with spirit and propriety, 439. Through a march of eight days, keeps his own division tolerably entire, 440. In vain offers conditions of

peace, *ib.* Marches on to the river Asinarus, where a bloody scene takes place, 441. Throws himself at the feet of Gylippus, and implores his humanity to the Athenians, *ib.* Nicias and Demosthenes suffer death, 443.
Nicon, a slave belonging to Craterus, iv. 306.
——, or Nico, the name of an ass which Octavius met, and which he considers as a favourable omen, v. 488. The name of an elephant; his fidelity to Pyrrhus, iii. 115.
Nicocles, kills Paleas, and sets himself up tyrant of Sicyon, vi. 155. Expelled by Aratus, iii. 2. vi. 160.
——, a friend of Phocion, v. 21. Is condemned to die, 42.
Nicocreon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, one of the presidents in the theatrical entertainments of Alexander the Great, iv. 284.
Nicodemus, a Theban, both blind and lame; Epaminondas' observation upon him, ii. 344.
——, the Messenian, his excuse for changing sides, v. 266.
Nicogenes, entertains Themistocles at Ægæ in Æoli, i. 348. Gets him conveyed to the Persian court in a woman's carriage, 349.
Nicolaüs, the philosopher, vi. 107, 108.
Nicomache, daughter of Themistocles, i. 358.
Nicomachus, his paintings, though excellent, appeared to be wrought off with ease, ii. 273.
——, a Greek settled at Carræ, attends young Crassus in his Parthian expedition, iii. 485.
——, informs his brother Cebalinus of a conspiracy against Alexander, iv. 315.
Nicomedes, the Athenian, i. 358.
——, king of Bithynia, reconciled to Mithridates by Sylla, iii. 264, 266. Visited by Cæsar, iv. 358.
† *Nicomedia,* iii. 343.
Niconides, the Thessalian, an engineer in the service of Mithridates, iii. 340.
† *Nicopolis,* city of, formerly Actium, v. 485.
——, the courtesan, leaves Sylla her heir, iii. 232.
Nicostrata, the same with Carmenta. See *Carmenta.*
Niger, a friend of Antony's, sent to him by Octavia, v. 476.
Nigidius, Publius, a friend of Cicero, v. 316.
† *Nile.* Water of the Nile, as well as of the Danube, kept among the treasures of the kings of Persia, iv. 298.
† *Nisæa,* iii. 78, *n.* v. 18.
† *Nisibis,* a city in Mygdonia, by the Greeks called Antioch, taken by Lucullus, iii. 374.
† *Nola,* ii. 400. iii. 243.
† *Nomades,* Thracians so called, iii. 457.
† *Nomentum,* marshes about it Cæsar intended to drain, iv. 425.
Nones of the Goats, Nonæ Caprotinæ, a feast kept by the Romans, in memory of Philotis and the other servant-maids, who imposed upon the Latins, i. 100, 166.
† *Nonacris,* rocks of, iv. 352.
Nonius, killed by Saturninus, his competitor for the tribuneship, iii. 157.

Nonius, nephew to Sylla, rejected in his application for the consulate, iii. 245.
† *Nora*, castle of, iv. 52.
Norbanus, the consul, defeated by Sylla, iii. 270.
———, escapes with difficulty from Brutus, vi. 91.
† *Noricum*, iii. 138.
† *Novocomum*, iv. 393.
Numa Pompilius, several Roman families trace their pedigree up to him, but not with sufficient certainty, i. 164. Rather contemporary with Pythagoras the Spartan, than with Pythagoras the Samian, 165. On the demise of Romulus, various debates ensuing about the choice of a king, Numa is the person pitched upon, 168. He was a citizen of Cures, the son of Pomponius, and had married Tatia, the daughter of Tatius, Romulus' collegue, 169. His character, *ib.* Believed to converse with the goddess Egeria, 170. In his fortieth year, when invited to the throne, 173. His answer to the embassadors on that occasion, *ib.* His father and his friend Marcius prevail with him to accept the crown, 174. Vettius the interrex receives him in the Forum, and his election is confirmed, 175, 176. He has happy presages in the flight of birds, 176. Immediately dismisses the guards, which had been kept on foot by Romulus, *ib.* To the priests adds one for Romulus, *ib.* Moulds the people to a softer temper, by the force of superstition, 178. His just conceptions of the first cause of all things, 179. Allows no images, nor bloody sacrifices, *ib.* 180. Said to have a son named Mamercus, to whom he gives the surname of Æmilius, 180. Institutes the order of priests called Pontifices, and is himself Pontifex Maximus, 181. Consecrates the vestals, 184. Builds the temple of Vesta in an orbicular form, 186. Teaches the Romans to look upon the touching of a dead body as no pollution, 187. Teaches them to venerate the goddess Libitina, *ib.* Fixes the time of mourning, *ib.* His regulations concerning widows, *ib.* He institutes the sacred orders of the Salii and Feciales, 188. Builds a palace near the temple of Vesta, and spends most of his time in religious exercises, 191. Makes the people reverent and attentive, 191. Many of his precepts resemble those of Pythagoras, 192. He brings the people to believe the most improbable tales concerning his connexion with the gods, 193—195. The ridiculous charm said to be communicated to him for thunder and lightning, 194, 195. He builds temples to Fides, or Faith, and to Terminus, 195. Draws the people to agriculture, as another great means of peace, 196. Distributes the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades, 197. Corrects the severity of the law, which empowered fathers to sell their children, 198. Attempts the reformation of the calendar, *ib.*—202. The temple of Janus shut for the space of forty-three years in his reign, 203. The happy influence of his example, *ib.* Various accounts of his wives and children; nothing certain, but that he had a wife name Tatia, and a daughter called Pompilia, 204. Wastes away by a gentle decline, 205.

Buried with great honour, and sincerely lamented by his subjects, *ib.* His books buried with him, and found some ages afterward; but the senate thinks proper to burn them, 206, 207. The misfortunes of the succeeding kings add lustre to his character, 208.

† *Numantia.* Scipio's expedition against it, iii. 122.

† *Numantines*, beat the consul Mancinus, seize his camp, and take the Romans prisoners, v. 203, 204. Out of respect to Tiberius Gracchus, they grant the consul terms of peace, and let the Romans go, 204. This peace annulled at Rome, 205.

Number Eight, why sacred to Neptune, i. 46. Twenty-eight, i. 119. Three, the perfection of it, ii. 71.

Numbers, the doctrine of, a great favourite with Plutarch, i. 47, *n.*

Numerius, a friend of Marius, provides him a ship for his escape to Africa, iii. 165.

———, a partisan of Pompey's taken prisoner by Cæsar, and sent to Pompey with offers of peace, iv. 206.

Numidian cavalry, iv. 418.

† *Numistro*, ii. 427.

Numitor, ejected from the throne of Alba by his brother Amulius, i. 52. His equity and prudence, 59. Restored by Romulus and Remus, 61.

Nundinæ, the Roman market-days, why so called, ii. 197.

Nurses, Spartan, in great esteem, i. 136. Their method with children, 137.

† *Nursia*, a city of the Sabines, iv. 4.

† *Nymphæa*, iii. 72.

† *Nymphæum*, a place near Apollonia, where are constant springs of fire, iii. 268.

Nymphs Sphragitides. See *Sphragitides.*

Nymphidia, natural daughter of Callistus, Cæsar's freedman, vi. 219.

Nymphidius Sabinus, promises the soldiers of the prætorian cohorts, and those quartered in the provinces, much larger sums than could ever be paid, for declaring Galba emperor, vi. 212. Attempts to set up for himself, 217. The measures he pursues, *ib.* 218. His death, 224.

Nypsius, the Neapolitan, gets provisions and money to pay the troops in the castle of Syracuse for Dionysius, vi. 38. He is defeated by the Syracusans, but they make an ill use of their victory, *ib.* Sallies out, and sets fire to the city, 41. Driven back by Dion, 43.

† *Nysa*, a city in India, besieged by Alexander, iv. 328.

Nyssa, sister to Mithridates, released by Lucullus, iii. 351.

O.

OAK, every Roman who saved the life of a fellow-citizen, was presented with an oaken crown, ii. 177. Sacred to Jupiter, *ib.*

Oak, under which Alexander pitched his tent before the battle of Chæronea, shown in Plutarch's time, iv. 251.

Oartes, said to have been the original name of Artaxerxes Mnemon, vi. 114.

Oath, the method of taking the Great Oath among the Syracusans, vi. 52. The oath taken by the young Athenians in the temple of Agraulos, ii. 132. Red-hot iron, by way of symbol, thrown into the sea by Aristides, upon taking an oath, 485. Between the kings of Epirus and their subjects, iii. 70. Taken with respect to the judges at public exhibitions, iii. 305. By the consuls, v. 320.

Obelisci, iii. 208.

Oboli, iii. 208.

Ochus, Darius would not visit the kingdom of Persia, though his native country, for fear of the expense in giving every woman a piece of money, iv. 342.

——, one of the sons of Artaxerxes Mnemon, finds means to get two of his brothers destroyed, succeeds to the crown, and outdoes all his predecessors in cruelty, vi. 149, 150.

Octavia, half-sister of Augustus, and widow of Caius Marcellus, is married to Antony, v. 454. Reconciles her brother and husband, 459. Goes to Athens, and carries Antony considerable supplies, 475, 476. Returns to Rome, 477. Is commanded by Antony to quit his house, which she does with great reluctance, 480. Laments that she should be numbered amongst the causes of the civil war, *ib.* Takes the rest of Antony's children after his death, 508.

Octavius, Cneius, permits Perseus to enjoy the protection of the temple in Samothrace, but guards against his escaping by sea, ii. 315. Perseus surrenders himself to him, 316.

——, the consul, drives Cinna out of Rome, iii. 173. Is a man of great probity, but adheres too scrupulously to the laws in time of civil war, and superstition has too much hold of him, *ib.* 174. Declares he will not make slaves free of that city; from which, in maintenance of the laws, he excludes Marius, 175. Seized and put to death by order of Marius and Cinna, *ib.*

——, governor of Cilicia, dies, and Lucullus applies for that province, iii. 333.

——, lieutenant to Crassus, in vain endeavours to console him after his defeat in Parthia, iii. 488. Insists on accompanying Crassus to Surena, 493. Is killed in endeavouring to prevent the Parthians from carrying Crassus off, 494.

——, Lucius, sent by Pompey to supersede Metellus in Crete, iv. 160. Is treated by him with contempt, 161.

——, Marcus, his message to Cato about the command at Utica, v. 115.

——, Caius, assumes the merit of being in the conspiracy against Cæsar, when he was not, and suffers for his vanity, iv. 436.

——, Marcus, tribune with Tiberius Gracchus, v. 209. Tiberius deposes him, 211, 212.

Octavius, Marcus, commands the centre of Antony's forces against Augustus, v. 407.
——. See *Augustus*.
Odeum, or Music Theatre, built by Pericles, in imitation of the king of Persia's pavilion, ii. 23, 24.
Odours, sweet ones, how produced, iv. 244.
Œconomics, a constituent part of politics, iii. 449.
Œdipus, his tragical legacy to his son, iii. 76.
Œnanthes, an infamous minister to young Ptolemy's pleasures, is also a minister of state, v. 189.
† *Œneadæ*, their territories ravaged by Pericles, ii. 32. Forced to take refuge within their walls, *ib.*
Œneïs, tribe of, iii. 306, *n.* 318.
† *Œniades*. Alexander undertakes to revenge their cause against the Ætolians, iv. 317.
Œnopion, son of Theseus by Ariadne, i. 22. The founder of Chios, *ib.*
Œnus. See *Cnacion*.
Œta, Mount, i. 39, *n.*
Ofella, Lucretius. See *Lucretius Ofella*.
Oil, the opinion of the ancient physicians, that it is salutary when applied outwardly, and pernicious if taken inwardly, ii. 536.
Oily springs, found on the banks of the Oxus, and the water of that river itself oily, iv. 326.
† *Olbians*, iv. 13.
Olbius, tutor to Nicogenes' children, breaks out into a prophetic verse, i. 348.
Old age, much honoured at Sparta, i. 133, 144.
Oligarchy, at Samos, abolished by Pericles, ii. 38. Alcibiades makes a feint of proposing one at Athens, ii. 151, 152.
Olive, one sacred at Athens, i. 234. Bough of it bound with wool, and offered to Apollo. See *Eiresionè*.
——, a spring called so, ii. 360.
† *Olizon*, i. 323.
† *Olocrus*, Mount, ii. 308.
† *Ologuntus*, v. 183.
Olthacus, prince of the Dardarians, pretends to desert from Mithridates to Lucullus, iii. 348. Attempts to kill Lucullus, but miscarries, 349.
† *Olympia*, oracle of, v. 144.
Olympian Games. See *Games*. Proved by Strabo to have been unknown in the time of Homer, i. 31, *n.* Several Olympic games before the common æra of Olympiads, i. 109, *n.*
—— Earth, Temple of, i. 35.
Olympias, the fidelity of Eumenes to that princess, iv. 54. She invites him into Macedon, 55. Early initiated in the Mysteries of Orpheus and Bacchus, and greatly addicted to enthusiasm and superstition, iv. 239, 240. Her dreams the night before the consummation of her marriage with Philip, 240. A saying of her's upon Alexander's pretending to be the son of Jupiter, 241. Jealous and implacable in her temper, 252. Her inhumanity to Cleopatra, Philip's other wife, 254. She advises Alexander

not to be so profuse to the objects of his bounty, 302. She and her daughter Cleopatra raise a party against Antipater, and divide the government during Alexander's absence, 341.

† *Olympus*, the height of the mountain so called, ii. 301.

† ———, a city in Pamphylia, ceremonies of Mithra and other mysteries performed there, iv. 154.

———, physician to Cleopatra, v. 503.

† *Olynthians*, v. 261.

Omens, that happened to Romulus and Remus, i. 62. To Themistocles, 334. To Antigonus, v. 392. To Camillus, i. 370. To Agesilaus, iv. 76. To Alcibiades, ii. 137, 163. To Timoleon, 239, 246, 262. To Paulus Æmilius, 293. To Marcellus, 432, 433. To Pyrrhus, iii. 108, 109. To Marius, 167, 170. To Sylla, 238, 269. To Mithridates, iv. 165. To the Romans, i. 378. ii. 65. iii. 240, 241. To Cimon, 320. To the Athenians, i. 335. ii. 137. iii. 419. v. 374. To Crassus, iii. 472, 474, 475. To Alexander, iv. 259, 276, 279, 280, 292, 326, 348. To Cæsar, 408, 431. To Galba, vi. 234. To Tiberius Gracchus, v. 217. To Caius Gracchus, v. 234. To Dion and Dionysius, vi. 23, 24. To Mark Antony, v. 483, 484, 498. To Pompey, iv. 163, 212, 213. To Octavius, v. 488. To Otho, vi. 248. To Cicero, v. 315, 332, 347. To Cassius, vi. 92. To Brutus, vi. 79, 90, 102. To Aratus, vi. 198. See *Prodigies.*

Omestes. See *Bacchus Omestes*.

Omisus, presents Artaxerxes with a large pomegranate, vi. 118.

Omphale. See *Hercules*.

Onarus, a priest of Bacchus, said to have married Ariadne, after she was deserted by Theseus, i. 22.

Onatius Aurelius, relates his vision, in consequence of which Pompey and Crassus are reconciled. See *Caius Aurelius*.

Onesicritus, attends Alexander in his eastern expedition, iv. 330, 332. Sent by Alexander to the Indian philosophers, 338. Pilot to the fleet, of which Nearchus was admiral, in the voyage round the southern point of India, 339.

† *Onean* mountains, v. 175.

Onomarchus, commits sacrilege at Delphi, and falls in the Sicilian wars, ii. 267.

————, who had the custody of Eumenes for Antigonus, his conversation with Eumenes concerning the fear of death, iv. 65.

Onomastus, one of Otho's freedmen, vi. 235.

Opheltas, the king of that name, and such as he could influence, conducted by Peripoltas the diviner from Thessaly into Bœotia, iii. 293.

———, king of Cyrene, v. 376.

Opima Spolia, what, and by whom won, i. 75. ii. 398.

Opimius, Lucius, of the patrician party, loses his election for consul through the opposition of Caius Gracchus, v. 234. Is afterward chosen, and endeavours to annul the acts of Caius, 236. Upon the ruin and death of that tribune, builds a temple to Concord, 241. Uses a dictatorial power in his consulate, in condemning so many citizens of Rome unheard, 242. Is convicted of taking bribes of Jugurtha, and grows old in dishonour, *ib.*

Oplacus the Italian, fixes his aim on Pyrrhus in particular, in an engagement, iii. 88, 89.

Oppius, Caius, a friend of Cæsar, some account of his writings, iv. 136.

Optiletis. See *Minerva Optiletis*.

Optio, a centurion's deputy, so called, vi. 235.

Oracle of Apollo at Delphi, i. 29. v. 297. Of Apollo Tegyræus, ii. 360. Of Trophonius, ii. 475. iii. 255. Of Amphiaraus, ii. 475. Of Jupiter Ammon, iii. 321. Of Dodona, i. 351. Of Pasiphaa, v. 141, 161. By Necromancy, iii. 301. Of Tethys or Themis, i. 51.

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Orandes, a Cretan, deceives Perseus, ii. 316.

Orations, Funeral. See *Funeral Orations*. Orations and Speeches of Alexander, iv. 304, 312. Of Afranius to Pompey, 210. Of Annibal before his death, iii. 58. Of Appius Claudius to the senate, iii. 91, 92. Of Aratus to Philip, vi. 206. Of Brennus, i. 380. Of Cleopatra at the tomb of Antony, v. 505. Of Cato to the Three Hundred, v. 109, 110. Of Chelonis the daughter of Leonidas, v. 149, 150. Of Cornelia to Pompey, iv. 221, 222. Of Cleomenes concerning the institution of the Ephori, v. 164, 165. Of the same concerning death, 188. Of Coriolanus to Tullus, ii. 202. Of the same against the insolence of the people, 193. Of Crassus to the army after the death of his son, iii. 487. Of the same, in going to meet his own death, 497. Of Dion, vi. 7, 10, 11, 40, 44, 45. Of Eumenes to the Argyraspides, iv. 63. Of Fabius Maximus to his army, ii. 82. To Paulus Æmilius, 85. Of Caius Gracchus, v. 227. Of Tiberius Gracchus, 208, 209, 215. Of Ersilia, and the Sabine women, i. 80. Of Licinia, the wife of Caius Gracchus, v. 238, 239. Of Lucullus to the army, iii. 345. Of Marius Celsus, vi. 257. Of Minucius to his troops, ii. 83. Of Numa refusing the offered crown, i. 173. Of the father of Numa, in answer, 174, 175. Of Otho to his troops, vi. 260. Of Paulus Æmilius to Perseus, ii. 317. Of the same, to the young officers, on the taking of Perseus, 318. Of the same, to the people of Rome, 330. Of Perpenna against Sertorius, iv. 33. Of Pompey to Cornelia, iv. 222. Of Remus to Numitor, i. 58. Of Sertorius, on the force of

perseverance, iv. 22. Of Sylla to his men, iii, 261. Of Therycion to Cleomenes, on the contempt of death, v. 187. Of Tiribazus to Darius, vi. 146, 147. Of Valerius, sister to Publicola, to Volumnia the mother of Coriolanus, ii. 216. Of Volumnia to the Roman matrons, 217. Of the same to her son, 218—220. Of Vinius to Galba, vi. 214.

Orator, prevails more from the goodness of his heart than the eloquence of his tongue, v. 7.

Oratory, the conciseness of that of Phocion, v. 7, 8.

† *Orchlaian* hills, iii. 227.

† *Orchomenus*, ii. 359. iii. 223, 261. v. 161.

Orcynians, in Cappadocia, iv. 50.

Orestes, the consul of that name, v. 224.

† *Oreum*, ii. 292.

† *Orexartes*, river, iv. 311.

† *Oricum*, ii. 322. iv. 208.

† *Orites*, Alexander marches through their country, iv. 339, 341.

Orneus, of the family of Erechtheus, i. 40.

† *Ornytus*, plants a colony in Caria, i. 10.

Orobazus, comes from Arsaces to wait on Sylla, the first embassador the Parthians sent to the Romans, iii. 235. Put to death by Arsaces for suffering Sylla to take the place of honour, 236.

Orodes, or *Hyrodes*, king of Parthia, sends an embassy to Crassus, iii. 473, and *n*. Restored to his throne by Surena, 477. Conquers Crassus, 494. Is murdered by his son Phraates, 498.

Orœsus, the Cretan, kills Ptolemy the son of Pyrrhus, iii. 111.

Oromasdes, or *Oromazes*, the God who is the author of good, so called by the Persians, iv. 286. vi. 149.

Orontes, the Persian, vi. 146, 155.

† *Oropians*, their cause, ii. 524, v. 255.

† *Oropus*, v. 255.

† *Orossus*, v. 396.

Orphans, and widows, excused from taxes by the Romans, at the first appointment of quæstors, i. 286, and *n*.

Orpheus, iv. 240. His statue of cypress at Libethra, 259.

Orphidius, vi. 256

Orthagoras, the diviner, a friend of Timoleon's, ii. 236.

Orthia. See *Diana Orthia*.

Orthopagus, iii. 256.

† *Osca*, iv. 19.

Oschophoria, or 'the Feast of Boughs,' instituted by Theseus, i. 25, 27. Description of this feast, 27, *n*.

Osodates, iv, 326.

Ostanes, brother to Artaxerxes Mnemon, vi. 119. His saying to Timagoras, 140.

† *Ostia*, iii. 165, 174.

Ostius, Lucius, the first parricide in Rome, i. 89.

Ostracism, against whom employed, i. 319, 344. ii. 127. On what account abolished, iii. 416.

Otacilius, brother to Marcellus, ii. 390.

Otho, the prætor, his law in favour of the equestrian order, v. 307.

Отно, Marcus, his luxury and love of pleasure, vi. 229. His connexions with Nero, 229. Nero is inclined to put him to death, in order to have Poppæa entirely to himself, 230. But through the intercession of Seneca, he is sent out governor of Lusitania, *ib.* One of the first who declares for Galba, *ib.* Pays his court in an agreeable manner both to Galba and his minister Vinius, 231. Takes measures for being appointed successor to Galba, *ib.* Contracts immense debts, *ib.* Bribes the prætorian cohorts, *ib.* Rebels against Galba upon being disappointed of the adoption, 234. Is the means of Galba's death, 238, 239. Goes to the Capitol, as emperor, and sacrifices, 243. Pardons Marius Celsus, *ib.* Makes a gracious speech to the senate, 244. Divides the remaining part of his consulship with Verginius Rufus, *ib.* Begins his administration with several prudent and popular acts, *ib.* Resolves to punish Tigellinus, and that wretch cuts his own throat, 244, 245. Remembers none of his private quarrels, 245. Assumes the name of Nero, to gratify the populace, *ib.* The prætorian cohorts, in their concern, or pretence of concern, for the emperor's safety, behave in a very turbulent manner, and go near to despatch a great number of senators, *ib.* 246. He punishes two soldiers by way of example, 247. Has intelligence that Vitellius had taken the title of emperor upon him, *ib.* Receives accounts from other countries, favourable to himself, *ib.* Letters pass between him and Vitellius, which end in mutual reproaches, *ib.* Does not deprive Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, of his command in the army, but orders him to attend him on his march, 248. Takes particular care of the mother and wife of Vitellius, *ib.* 249. Appoints Flavius Savinus, brother to Vespasian, governor of Rome, 249. Stops at Brixellum, and orders his army to march on under his lieutenants, which they refuse, *ib.* Character of his officers, *ib.* Sends his brother Titianus to take the command of the army, and gives him Proculus for his assistant, 252. Holds a council of war, in which his most experienced generals advise him to wait for his troops from Mysia and Pannonia, *ib.* But impatient to have the affair decided, he gives orders for a general action, 254. Retires to Brixellum, *ib.* His great error in that step, *ib.* Some skirmishes upon the Po make his troops at Bedriacum insist on being led out, *ib.* 255. Bravery of his legion called 'the Succourer,' 256. When intelligence is brought to him that the battle was lost, the troops about him give every possible assurance of their fidelity, 259. His speech, in which he assures them, that though he knows the late battle to be by no means decisive, he will lay down his life to procure them peace, 260. Takes leave of the senators, and others of his friends, *ib.* Appeases his soldiers, who thought the senators were forsaking him, 261. Sleeps sound the night following, 262. Falls upon his sword, and expires with one groan, *ib.* The army lament his death in the sincerest manner, and give him the most honourable burial, *ib.* A plain monument is put upon his grave at Brixellum, 263. He died at the age of thirty-seven, having reigned only three months, *ib.*

By his death, in some measure, he compensated for the disorders of his life, *ib.*
† *Otryæ*, iii. 337.
Ovation, the smaller triumph, ii. 423. Not the same with the Greek *Evan*, 424. But derived from the Latin word, *Ovis*, *ib.*
Ovicula, a name given to Fabius Maximus in his youth on account of his seeming tameness and stupidity, ii. 63.
Owl, Athenian money impressed with the figure of one, iii. 208.
Ox, said to have spoken. See *Prodigies*.
—, valued at five drachmæ at Athens, i. 252. At a hundred oboli in the time of Publicola, 286.
Oxathres, the brother of Darius, Alexander takes him into his friendship, iv. 309.
———, brother to Artaxerxes Mnemon, vi. 119.
† *Oxus*, river, iv. 326.
Oxyartes, asked by Alexander 'whether Sisimethres, who had taken post on an inaccessible rock, was a man of courage,' iv. 327.
———, son of Abulytes, stabbed by Alexander, iv. 342.
Oxydracæ. See *Malli*.

P.

PACCIANUS, defeated and killed by Sertorius, iv. 12.
Paches, who had taken Lesbos, being called to account by the Athenians for some misdemeanour, kills himself in open court, iii. 405.
† *Pachynus*, promontory of, vi. 24.
Pacianus, Caius, a Roman who resembled Crassus, obliged by the Parthians to personate him, iii. 495.
———, Vibius, Crassus takes refuge with him in Spain from the cruelty of Marius, iii. 451.
Pacorus, prince of Parthia, marries the king of Armenia's sister, iii. 496. Killed in battle by the Romans, 498. v. 457.
Pæanea, Demosthenes of that ward, v. 275.
Pædaretus the Spartan, a saying of his, i. 150.
Pæon, the historian, i. 22.
Pæonia, iii. 76. iv. 177.
Painters, excellent ones at Sicyon, vi. 164.
Paintings, Aratus collects them for Ptolemy, vi. 165.
Palatine hill, i. 50, 79.
† *Palæscepsis*, a city given to Themistocles by the king of Persia, i. 354.
Palilia, a pastoral feast, i. 65, 85.
Palladium, i. 35. Image of Pallas, 387.
Pallantidæ, the sons of Pallas, and next heirs to Ægeus, if Theseus had not been acknowledged his son, have recourse to arms, but are defeated, i. 5, 14.
† *Pallantium*, vi. 189.
Pallus, brother of Ægeus, and father of the Pallantidæ, i. 5, *n.*
———. See *Minerva*.

Pallene, an Athenian tribe, do not intermarry with that of Agnus, i. 14.
Palm, a spring so called, ii. 360.
Palm-tree shooting up near the statue of Cæsar in a temple at Tralles, considered as prefigurative of his victory at Pharsalia. See *Prodigies*.
Pammenes, Philip, king of Macedon, brought up in his house at Thebes, ii. 373.
Pamphilus, of Sicyon, a celebrated painter, vi. 164.
† *Pamphylia*, iv. 223.
Pan, i. 172.
† *Panactus*, ii. 128. v. 385.
Panætius commands a galley of Tenos in the service of Xerxes, and revolts from him, i. 331.
———, the philosopher, what he said of Demosthenes, v. 267.
Panathenæa, the festival of the united Athenians, instituted by Theseus, i. 29. v. 24.
Pancratium, what, iv. 245, and *n*.
† *Pandosia*, iii. 87.
Pandion, i. 14.
Panemus, the month of Metageitnion so called by the Bœotians, i. 385.
Panic fears, iv. 213.
† *Pannonia*, vi. 247.
† *Panopæans*, iii. 225, 253.
Panopeus, i. 37.
Pansa and *Hirtius*, consuls, ii. 332. See *Hirtius*.
Pantaleon, a man of great power and interest among the Ætolians, vi. 186.
Pantauchus, challenges Pyrrhus to single combat, and is overcome, iii. 74. v. 406.
Panteus, sent by Cleomenes to seize on Megalopolis, v. 179. Kills himself in Egypt on the body of Cleomenes, 195. His wife a woman of great beauty, courage, and dignity of sentiment, 196.
Panthers, v. 337.
Panthoïdes, the Spartan general, Pelopidas kills him in the battle of Tanagra, ii. 359.
Panthides, marries Italia, the daughter of Themistocles, i. 358.
Paphian Venus. See *Venus*.
† *Paphlagonia*, iii. 264. iv. 41, 82, 266.
Papiria, wife of Paulus Æmilius, divorced by him, ii. 285.
Papirius Maso, ii. 285.
——— *Carbo*, the consul, defeated by Sylla's lieutenants, makes his escape in the night, and gets into Lybia, iii. 272.
Pappus, v. 288.
† *Parætonium*, v. 492.
Parali, one division of the people of Attica so called; they lived on the sea-coast, i. 263, *n*.
Paralus, one of the sons of Pericles, his father's affliction for his death, ii. 56.

Paralus, a ship so called, iii. 200.
† *Parapotamians*, iii. 254.
Paris' harp preserved at Troy, Alexander refuses to see it, iv. 261.
Pariscas, an eunuch belonging to the younger Cyrus, vi. 127.
† *Parma*, embassadors from that place, iii. 154.
Parmenio, father of Philotas, warns Alexander of a supposed design of poison from his physician, iv. 268. Tells him, he would accept the offers of Darius, if he was Alexander, 285. Advises him to attack the enemy in the night, to which Alexander replies, 'I will not steal a victory,' 289, 290. His party, in the great battle of Arbela, disordered by the Bactrian horse, 291. Sends to Alexander for succours, 294. Censured for it, *ib.* Alexander gives him Bagoas' house, 303. Parmenio says to Philotas, 'My son, be less,' 314. He is put to death by order of Alexander, 316.
† *Parnassus*, iii. 252.
Parrhasius, a celebrated painter at Athens, i. 6. Honoured by the Athenians for his pictures of Theseus, *ib.*
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Pasacas, Cyrus' horse, vi. 123.
† *Pasargadæ*, vi. 116.
Paseas, the father of Abantidas, vi. 153. Killed by Nicocles, 155.
Pasicrates, king of Soli in Cyprus, iv. 284.
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† *Passaron*, in the country of the Molossians, iii. 70.
Passions, diseases, and tempests, considered by the heathens as divinities, i. 34, *n.*
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† *Patara*, vi. 86.
† *Patareans*, Brutus' letter concerning them, vi. 59.

† *Patræ*, ii. 132. v. 371, 483.
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† *Patronis*, iii. 252.
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with much difficulty under a heap of the slain, 309. Scipio, his younger son, is missing, but returns to the camp late in the night, 310, 311. Æmilius in two days' time becomes master of all Macedon, 313. His rebuke to the vanquished Perseus, when he is brought before him, 317. His speech to the officers of his army on the instability of fortune, 318. Visits Greece, reforms abuses, and gives specimens of his bounty, 319. Erects his own statue at Delphi, on a pedestal designed for that of Perseus, *ib.* With ten commissioners from Rome, settles the government of Macedon, *ib.* 320. Exhibits games, 320. Has a happy talent for making entertainments, *ib.* Takes nothing of Perseus' treasures for himself, *ib.* Sacks seventy cities of Epirus, and yet the soldiers to whom the plunder was given, have no more than eleven drachmæ a man, 322. Returns to Italy, and sails in great pomp up the Tiber, *ib.* The soldiers endeavour to prevent his triumph, 323. Servilius' speech on that occasion, *ib.* 324. The triumph described, 325—328. Æmilius loses his two younger sons, who were not adopted into other families, 329. The magnanimity discovered in his speech on that occasion, 330. He brings so much money into the treasury, that the people have no occasion to pay any taxes till the times of Hirtius and Pansa, 332. Is acceptable to the people, though in the interest of the nobility, *ib.* Is elected censor with Marcius Philippus, 333, and *n.* His moderation in that office, 333. Sickens during his censorship, *ib.* The cordial regard expressed for him at his funeral, not only by the Romans, but persons of the countries he had conquered, 334, 335. Leaves a very small estate behind him, *ib.*

Paulus, the consul, bribed by Cæsar, iv. 199, 393.

———, given up to the proscription by his brother Lepidus, v. 350, 443.

Pausanias, commander in chief of the Greeks, at the battle of Platææ, ii. 467, *et seq.*

———, king of Sparta, marches into Attica, under pretence of supporting the Thirty Tyrants, but really with another view, iii. 215. Obtains a truce, and carries off the dead body of Lysander from before the walls of Haliartus, 225. Retires to Tegea, 227. Deserted by the allies, who put themselves under the command of Cimon, 301. Unfortunately kills Cleonice at Byzantium, *ib.* His unhappy end, i. 302, *n.* 344, 345, *n.*

———, kills Philip of Macedon for denying him redress under an insupportable injury, iv. 254.

———, the physician, Alexander's letter to him on the use of hellebore, iv. 305.

———, sent by Seleucus to seize Demetrius, v. 418.

Peace, of Nicias, iii. 412. Between the Athenians and the king of Persia, 312. Of Antalcidas, iv. 98. vi. 138. Between Sylla and Mithridates, iii. 265, 266.

———, an altar erected to her, iii. 312. Verses descriptive of her, i. 203.

Pecunia, i. 30, *n.*

† *Pedalion*, a rock so called, iii. 359.
Pediæi, an Athenian class, i. 263, *n.*
† *Pedum*, city of, ii. 209.
† *Pegæ*, ii. 32. vi. 198.
† *Pelasgi*, i. 49. The oldest inhabitants of Greece, *ib. n.*
Pelasgus, iii. 65.
Peleus, the grandson of Sciron, i. 11.
† *Pelignians*, ii. 307.
† *Pella*, ii. 311. v. 409.
——, Lucius, disgraced by Brutus, vi. 89.
† *Pellene*, recovered from the Ætolians by Aratus, vi. 184. Taken by Cleomenes, v. 172.
PELOPIDAS, the son of Hippoclus, nobly descended, ii. 343. Makes a generous use of his wealth, *ib.* Cannot prevail on his friend Epaminondas to partake of his riches, and therefore partakes of his poverty, *ib.* Marries into a noble family, yet afterward by his munificence lessens his fortune, 344. Delights in the exercises of the Palæstra and the field, *ib.* The happy consequences to the public from the perpetual friendship and harmony subsisting between him and Epaminondas, *ib.* Rescued in battle by Epaminondas, 345. Is sentenced to banishment, 346. Prevails upon the exiles to attempt the deliverance of their country, 348. Is one of the twelve exiles, who having left the rest of their party at Thriasium, set out in disguise with dogs and hunting poles, 349. He and his company enter the city in different quarters, under favour of their disguise and the snowy weather, and get safe to Charon's house, 350. He goes against Leontidas, who was at home in his own chamber, and despatches him with much difficulty, 353, 354. Kills, also, Hypates, 354. Is elected by the people one of the governors of Bœotia, 355. Takes the Cadmea a little before succours arrived from Sparta, 356. This action of Pelopidas justly called sister to that of Thrasybulus, *ib.* The Athenians, alarmed at the arrival of a Spartan army on the borders of Bœotia, draw off from the Theban league, but Pelopidas finds means to embroil them again with the Spartans, 357. His agents persuade Sphodrias, the Spartan, to make an attempt upon the Piræus, *ib.* He defeats the Spartans in several rencounters, 358, 359. His concern in the battle of Tegyræ, 359. The Sacred Band, first formed by Gorgides, improved by Pelopidas, 362, 364. His answer to his wife, who desires him to take care of his person, 365. Marches with Epaminondas against Cleombrotus, 367. His dream before the battle of Leuctra, 365, 366. As captain only of the Sacred Band, has a considerable share in the honour of the victory, 368. He and Epaminondas are appointed joint-governors of Bœotia, and make very considerable progress in Peloponnesus, *ib.* 369. They venture to keep their commission beyond the expiration of their year, though the penalty was capital, 369. Lay waste Laconia with an army of seventy thousand men, *ib.* Drive the Spartans out of Messenia, and re-establish the ancient inhabitants, *ib.* In their return defeat the Athenians, *ib.* 370. Are capitally tried

for keeping the command beyond the time allowed by law, 370. Acquitted, *ib.* Meneclides forms a party against them, *ib.* 371. Endeavours to put Charon upon a footing with them, 371. A heavy fine is laid upon that envious man, 372. The Thessalians applying to the Thebans for assistance against Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ, Pelopidas takes the command of the succours, and recovers Larissa, 372. Attempts to humanise the tyrant, but in vain, *ib.* The tyrant escapes out of his hands, *ib.* Pelopidas goes into Macedon, as arbitrator between Alexander and Ptolemy, 373. Brings Philip and thirty other hostages to Thebes, *ib.* Ptolemy having killed the king of Macedon, and assumed the sovereignty, Pelopidas permits him to keep it on certain conditions, for the performance of which he gives his son Philoxenus, as an hostage, 374. Besieges Pharsalus, *ib.* Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, approaches it with his army, and Pelopidas is imprudent enough to go to him without guards, *ib.* The tyrant seizes him and Ismenias, and makes himself master of Pharsalus, *ib.* Thebe, the tyrant's wife, visits Pelopidas in the prison, 375. Epaminondas recovers him and Ismenias out of the tyrant's hands, 378. Pelopidas goes embassador to the Persian court, and is highly honoured by Artaxerxes, *ib.* Obtains all he desires, 379. Accepts none of the king's presents, *ib.* The tyrant of Pheræ extends his conquests and oppressions, 380. An eclipse of the sun happens, when Pelopidas is marching out against him, *ib.* He has the advantage in the battle, notwithstanding his inferior numbers; but falls a sacrifice to his resentment against the tyrant, 382. The sorrow of the allies, as well as Thebans, for his death, *ib.* 383. His funeral solemnised by the Thessalians, 384. The Thebans send an army to revenge his death upon Alexander, 385. The tyrant is slain by his wife and her three brothers, 386, 387.

Peloponnesian war, ii. 43. Lasts twenty-seven years, iii. 402, *n.*

† *Peloponnesus*, i. 31, 40. v. 170.

Pelops, after he was settled in Peloponnesus, formed alliances in his family with the neighbouring princes, and became the most powerful king in those parts, i. 4, *n.* Father of Pittheus and Lysidice, *ib.*

———, of Byzantium, Cicero expostulates with him by letter for not procuring for him certain honours thence, v. 322.

† *Pelusium*, v. 427, 497. vi. 87.

† *Peneus*, river, iii. 34.

Pentacosiomedimni, an order of men in Athens according to the constitution of Solon, i. 242. ii. 445.

Pentathlum, what, vi. 154, *n.*

† *Pentele*, a borough of Attica, famed for it's marble, i. 292.

† *Penteleum*, v. 173.

Pentheus, iii. 496, 497. vi. 239.

Peparathus, one of the Cyclades, i. 52, *n.*

Peplum, or sacred veil of Minerva, i. 29, *n.* v. 372, *n.*

† *Percote*, a city given to Themistocles by the king of Persia, to supply his wardrobe, i. 354.

Perdiccas, on the death of Hephæstion supplies his place, iv. 38. He establishes Eumenes in Cappadocia, 42. Marches against Ptolemy, 43. Is killed in a mutiny in Ægypt, 48. Had assisted Roxana in taking off Statira and her sister, iv. 353.
†*Pergamus*, iii. 246. The library there, v. 481.
Pergamenians, Brutus' letter to them, vi. 58, 59.
Periander, entertains the seven Wise Men, i. 222, 223.
———, the son of Cypselus, vi. 155.
Peribœa, the mother of Ajax, married to Theseus, i. 37.
Pericles, of the tribe of Acamantis, and the ward of Cholargia, ii. 5. Son of Xanthippus and Agariste, both illustrious personages, *ib.* His person described, 6. Rallied by the comic poets, on the largeness of his head, *ib.* Damon, under pretence of teaching him music, instructs him in politics, 7. He attends the lectures of Zeno the Elean, *ib.* Most indebted for his sublime oratory and great knowledge of nature, to Anaxagoras, 8. Cured by him of superstition, 9. Patient under injuries, yet taxed with pride, *ib.* The ram with one horn found in his grounds, 10. Resembles Pisistratus in his person and manner, 11. Engages in the administration, and takes the popular party, because Cimon was at the head of the nobility, *ib.* Lives extremely retired, for the sake of preserving his dignity, 12. Overthrows the power of the Areopagus, by means of Ephialtes, 12, 13. Improves his eloquence by his philosophy, and from the force of it gains the surname of Olympias, 13. Compared to thunder and lightning as he spoke, 13, 14. Thucydides' observation on his eloquence, 14, 15. Several sayings of Pericles, *ib.* He first endeavours to bring himself to some sort of equality with Cimon, and for that purpose corrupts the people with the public money, *ib.* 16. Causes Cimon to be banished by the Ostracism, 16. Cimon is recalled, and Pericles and he take different departments in the state, 17. Pericles is unjustly charged with the assassination of Ephialtes, 18. Upon the death of Cimon, the nobility set up Thucydides against Pericles, *ib.* 19. Pericles indulges the people more and more, 19. He employs sixty galleys for eight months every year, *ib.* His policy in sending out colonies, *ib.* He removes the public treasures of Greece from Delos, and takes them into his own custody, 20. Constructs noble edifices at Athens, 21, 22. Rebuilds the Parthenon, 23. Builds the Odeum, or music-theatre, *ib.* Begins the long walls, *ib.* A good workman falls from the vestibule of the citadel, and his life being despaired of, a remedy for him is communicated to Pericles in a dream, 24. Pericles is accused of a variety of intrigues, 25. He offers the people to be at the whole charge of the public buildings himself, if they would suffer them to be inscribed with his name, instead of theirs, 26. Procures the banishment of Thucydides, and becomes sole master of Athens, *ib.* 27. Treats the people with less ceremony, but is strictly just, and does not add one drachma to his paternal estate, 27, 28. Holds the reins for fifteen years after the banishment of Thucydides, and for forty years in all, 28. Attentive to his own

finances, *ib.* A servant, named Evangelus, is very useful to him in his private œconomy, 29. Is informed that Anaxagoras intends to starve himself, and hastens to dissuade him, *ib.* 30. Sends deputies to all the states of Greece, to summon them to Athens, to consult about rebuilding the Grecian temples, and the best measures for preserving the peace of Greece, 30. The safety of his measures in war, 31. A saying of his thereupon, *ib.* Endeavours to dissuade Tolmides from his expedition into Bœotia, *ib.* Pericles' expedition to the Chersonese, 32. That by sea around Peloponnesus, *ib.* He sails with a strong fleet, and secures the Grecian cities in the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea, 33. Sends a colony of six hundred Athenians to Sinope, *ib.* Restrains the wild desires of the Athenians, who were possessed with a passion for conquering Sicily and other countries, *ib.* Opposes the Lacedæmonians in the Sacred War, aud puts the temple of Delphi in the hands of the Phocians again, 34. Inscribes the Athenian privilege of consulting the oracle first, on the side of the brasen wolf, *ib.* The Lacedæmonians under their king Plistonax invading Attica, Pericles bribes Cleandrides, the guardian of Plistonax, to retire, *ib.* 35. Puts down ten talents for necessary use, and the Athenians allow it without examining the purpose, 35. Chastises the Eubœans, *ib.* Agrees upon a truce for thirty years with the Lacedæmonians, 36. Makes war upon the Samians, at the instigation of Aspasia, *ib.* Though Pericles had two sons by his wife, named Xanthippus and Paralus, they part by consent, and he marries Aspasia, 37. Has a son by her, 38. His operations against the Samians, who are at last entirely reduced, *ib.*—42. He celebrates the obsequies of his countrymen who had fallen in the Samian war, and pronounces their funeral oration at Athens, 42. Upon a rupture between the Corinthians and Corcyreans, he sends Lacedæmonius, the son of Cimon, with ten ships only, to the assistance of the latter, 43, 44. Afterward he sends a larger fleet, 44. Is the sole author of the Peloponnesian war, 45. Phidias is condemned for putting his own figure, and that of Pericles, on the ægis of Minerva, 47, 48. Aspasia is prosecuted for impiety, and a charge of peculation is brought against Pericles, *ib.* 49. He begs Aspasia off, and conducts Anaxagoras out of Athens, 49. He hastens on the war, *ib.* The Lacedæmonians desire the Athenians to banish all execrable persons, hoping that Pericles would be included in the number, 50. This attaches the Athenians to Pericles still more, *ib.* He warns the Athenians of the enemy's design to spare his lands, when they ravaged the rest, *ib.* Archidamus invades Attica, and proceeds as far as Acharnæ; but Pericles keeps the Athenians close in the city, *ib.* 51. He divides the lands in Ægina among the poor citizens of Athens, 52. Ravages the Peloponnesian coasts with his fleets, and lays waste the territories of Megara, *ib.* The plague breaking out at Athens, he mans a hundred and fifty ships, 53. An eclipse of the sun happens, when he is about to set sail, *ib.* 54. He ex-

plains that phenomenon, so as to remove the superstitious fears of his men, 54. Lays siege to Epidaurus; but the sickness among his troops breaks his measures, *ib.* The Athenians deprive him of the command, and lay a fine upon him, *ib.* His elder son Xanthippus behaves in a very undutiful manner, 55. He loses that son, and several other persons of his family in the plague, 56. Retains his dignity of sentiment till the death of his last legitimate son Paralus, *ib.* The Athenians, disappointed in their other statesmen, call him again to the administration, *ib.* He repeals the law which he had made against bastards, having now himself only natural children left, *ib.* Is permitted to enrol a natural son by his own name, 57. That son is put to death by the Athenians, after the sea-fight at Arginusæ, *ib.* Pericles takes the plague, but has it in a lingering manner, 58. His friends, when they think him insensible, and at the point of death, discourse about his bed, *ib.* The remarkable observation which he made upon that occasion, *ib.* His character, *ib.* 59. Much wanted in the administration, and regretted by the Athenians, 59, 60.

Periclidas, sent by the Spartans to Athens to request succours against the Helots, iii. 317.

Perigune, daughter of Sinnis, her history, i. 10.

†*Perinthians*, iv. 344. v. 17, 271.

†*Periphemus*, a hero to whom the oracle directs Solon to sacrifice in Salamis, i. 228.

Periphetes, surnamed *Corynetes*, or the *Club-bearer*, slain by Theseus in the territories of Epidaurus, i. 9.

Periphoretus, Artemon, why so called, ii. 41.

Peripoltas, the diviner, conducts king Opheltas into Bœotia, iii. 293.

Periskulakismoi, ceremonies, i. 87.

Peritas, Alexander's dog. That prince builds a city of the same name in memory of him, iv. 332.

Perithoïs, one of the wards of Athens, ii. 126. iii. 415.

Perpenna, joins Sertorius, iv. 21. Jealous of the glory of that general, and conspires against him, 34. Kills Sertorius, in spite of the sanction of hospitality, 35. Is taken prisoner, and put to death by Pompey, *ib.* 147, 148.

†*Perrhœbians*, ii. 300. iii. 43.

Persæus, the philosopher, commands in Acrocorinth for Antigonus, vi. 169. Aratus takes that citadel from him, 174. A saying of his, 175.

†*Persepolis*. Alexander enters that city, iv. 299. Burns the palace of Xerxes there, 300, 301.

Perseverance, the effects of it, iv. 22.

Perseus, of the heroic times, iii. 296.

———, king of Macedon, the son of Philip, goes to war with the Romans, ii. 291. Said to be a supposititious child, and really the son of a sempstress, *ib.* Defeats some of the Roman generals, *ib.* 292. Makes great preparations for future hostilities, 292.

His sordid avarice, 295, 296. And timidity, 306. He is encouraged by his officers to venture upon a decisive action, 302. Said by some to have withdrawn to Pydna as soon as the battle began, 306. Defeated by the Romans, 309. His subsequent behaviour, 311. Octavius spares the sanctuary of the Cabiri in which he had taken refuge, 315. Surrenders himself to Octavius, 316. Behaves meanly on being introduced to Paulus Æmilius, 317. Led in triumph, 328. Put to a cruel death, 331, 332. Is the last of the kings of Macedon, v. 421.

† *Persians*, their wars with the Greeks under Darius, ii. 451. Under Xerxes, i. 321, *et seq.* With the Lacedæmonians in the time of Agesilaus, vi. 137. With Alexander the Great, iv. 266, *et passim*. The entrance into their country difficult, 298. Their jealousy of their women, i. 349.

† *Pessinus*, iii. 141. v. 62.

Pestilence at Rome, i. 90, 418. Throughout Italy, 189. At Athens, ii. 53. In the army of Demetrius, the consequence of unwholesome diet, v. 414.

† *Petelia*, ii. 434.

† *Petelian* hills, iii. 462.

Peteus, i. 40.

Peticius, a Roman, receives Pompey into his ship, in consequence of a dream he had upon his voyage, iv. 220.

Petilius, the prætor, advises the senate to burn the books of Numa, which were found about four hundred years after his death, i. 207.

Petinus, one of the evil ministers of Nero, put to death by Galba, vi. 227.

† *Petra*, in Arabia, iv. 177.

† ——, near Mount Olympus, ii. 300.

† *Petrocus*, iii. 256.

Petronius, one of Crassus' officers in the Parthian expedition, his great fidelity to his general, iii. 494.

—— *Turpilianus*, a person of consular dignity, put to death by Galba, vi. 224.

Peucestas, joins Eumenes, iv. 56. Endeavours to gain the principal authority in the army, 58, 59. Is surprised at the news of Antigonus' approach, 60. The cavalry defeated, and the baggage taken through his cowardice, 62. Alexander's letter to him, on his being bitten by a bear, iv. 305.

Pexodorus, governor of Caria, treats of marriage between his daughter and Arrhidæus, the son of Philip, iv. 253.

Phæa, the wild sow of Crommyon, killed by Theseus, i. 10. Said to be, not a sow, but a female robber, 11.

Phæax, the name of one of the mariners who sailed with Theseus to Crete, i. 18.

——, and Nicias, the only persons able to make head against Alcibiades in the administration, ii. 126.

Phædimus, informs Eumenes of a conspiracy against him, because Eumenes had borrowed money of him, iv. 61.

Phædon, archon of Athens, when the oracle directed the Athenians to carry the bones of Theseus from Scyros to Athens, i. 45.
Phædra, Theseus marries her, i. 36. The calamities said to ensue upon her unlawful passion for Hippolytus, supposed not to be fictitious, *ib.*
Phæranete, the wife of Samos, discovers Neoptolemus' conspiracy against Pyrrhus, iii. 71.
Phaëton, some writers reckon him the first king of the Molossians, after the deluge, iii. 65.
Phalanx, the Macedonian, described, ii. 306. iii. 40. iv. 41, 42.
Phalerum, the monuments of Nausitheus and Phæax erected there, by Theseus, i. 19. Temple of Sciron, *ib.*
Pharax, a Lacedæmonian officer, under pretence of introducing liberty into Sicily, wanted to set himself up tyrant, vi. 46.
† *Pharice*, vi. 205.
† *Pharmacusa*, iv. 359.
Pharmuthi, i. 67.
Pharnabazus, endeavours to cover the Lacedæmonian ships with his land forces, ii. 155. Is defeated by Alcibiades three several times, 156, 157, 158. Complains to the Spartans of Lysander's having plundered his province, iii. 212. Lysander desires him to send a letter by him, retracting what he had asserted, which he promises to do, but palms a different letter upon him, 213. Much respected by the Lacedæmonians for the services he had done them, *ib.* Is defeated by Spithridates and Herippidas, iv. 83. His conference with Agesilaus, 84, 85. Sent by Artaxerxes, as his general, against the Egyptians, vi. 141.
———, son of Artabazus, commands a corps of horse under Eumenes, iv. 46.
Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, revolts from him to the Romans, upon which Mithridates kills himself, iv. 177. Sends presents to Pompey, *ib.* Defeats Domitius Calvinus, Cæsar's lieutenant, 415. Defeated by Cæsar, *ib.*
† *Pharnacia*, iii. 351.
Pharnapates, the most experienced general that Orodes had, killed in battle by Ventidius, v. 457.
† *Pharos*, the isle so called, it's situation, iv. 279.
† *Pharsalia*, battle of, described, iv. 216—219.
† *Pharuges*, v. 40.
† *Phaselis*, iii. 310. iv. 265.
† *Phasis*, river, iii. 376. iv. 169.
Phäyllus, the Crotonian, fits out a vessel at his own charge, and joins the Greeks at Salamis, iv. 295. In memory of his zeal for the cause of Greece, Alexander sends part of the spoils of Asia to the Crotonians, *ib.*
———, the Zacynthian, vi. 128.
† *Pheneum*, v. 172.
† *Pheræ*, in Achaia, v. 168.
† ———, in Thessaly, ii. 372, 375.
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against him at Rome, *ib.* He returns to Rome, *ib.* Gabinius prepares a decree for deposing Piso, but Pompey will not suffer him to propose it, 158. Pompey re-embarks and touches at Athens, *ib.* The honour paid him by the Athenians, *ib.* He defeats the pirates on the Cilician coast, and compels them to surrender all their castles, *ib.* 159. Places the pirates in inland towns, 159. Guilty of an invidious action in attempting to strip Metellus of his command in Crete, 160. The tribune Manilius procures a decree, which gives him the direction of the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, and makes him, in fact, sovereign of the Roman empire, 161. The artificial behaviour of Pompey, when he receives the news, 162. He takes all opportunities to annul the acts of Lucullus, 161, 162. The two generals have an interview, which only makes the breach the wider, 163, 164. He seduces all Lucullus' soldiers, except sixteen hundred, 164. Marches in quest of Mithridates, *ib.* His operations against him, 165. He routs him entirely near the Euphrates, 166. Enters Armenia, on the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, 167. Tigranes the Elder receives a Roman garrison into his capital, and makes his personal submission to Pompey, *ib.* Pompey continues to Tigranes the dominions which he has in his hands, and offers to make his son king of Sophene, *ib.* 168. The father is very happy in these conditions; but the son murmurs, and is reserved in chains for Pompey's triumph, 168. Pompey marches in search of Mithridates, *ib.* The Albanians attack him, and are defeated, *ib.* 169. He grants them peace, 169. Defeats the Iberians, who were never conquered till this time, *ib.* Enters Colchis, in order to pursue Mithridates, who concealed himself about the Bosporus and the Palus Mœotis, *ib.* Is called back by the revolt of the Albanians, *ib.* Defeats them again, and kills Cosis, the king's brother, with his own hand, 170. Designs to visit Hyrcania, but is prevented by the great number of serpents he finds on the way, *ib.* Takes his route to Armenia the Less, 171. Gives audience there to the embassadors of the Elymæans and the Medes, *ib.* Sends Afranius against the Parthians, who were laying waste Gordyene, *ib.* Pompey's polite behaviour to Stratonice, favourite concubine to Mithridates, *ib.* The king of Iberia sends him rich presents, and he delivers them to the quæstors, to be applied to the public revenue, 172. Finds in the castle of Cænon Mithridates' private papers, by which he discovers him, in his real character, to be cruel and libidinous, *ib.* Goes to Amisus, where he distributes governments before the war is finished, though he had blamed that measure in Lucullus, 173. Twelve kings appear before him there, *ib.* He is desirous to recover Syria, and push his conquests as far as the Red Sea; and in the mean time he takes measures for reducing Mithridates by famine, *ib.* 174. Inters the bodies of those Romans, who fell under Triarius three days before, 174. Subdues the Arabians about mount Amanus, *ib.* Converts Syria into a Roman province, *ib.* Reduces Judæa, and takes its king, Aristobulus,

prisoner, *ib.* Administers justice, and decides disputes between cities and princes, particularly between the Armenians and Parthians, *ib.* 175. Too indulgent to his own ministers, 175. The insolent use that his freedman Demetrius made of his favour, *ib.* Pompey's theatre beautiful and grand, but his house not ostentatiously great, 176. He marches against Petra, in Arabia, *ib.* Near that place he receives the news of the death of Mithridates, 177. Marches to Amisus, where he finds presents from Pharnaces, together with the body of Mithridates, *ib.* Moves with great pomp towards Italy, 178. His bounty to philosophers and other learned men at Rhodes and at Athens, *ib.* 179. At his return to Italy, has the mortification to find that his wife Mucia had dishonoured his bed, 179. Divorces her, *ib.* Apprehensions in Rome that he will keep his army on foot, and make himself absolute master, *ib.* Removed, by his disbanding it immediately, *ib.* The cities pour out their inhabitants to welcome and conduct him to Rome, 180. Finding Cato the only person who ventured to oppose him in the administration, he endeavours to gain him by proposing a family alliance, but his offer is rejected, *ib.* Bribes publicly for one of his friends, *ib.* His triumph remarkable in being over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two, 181. He advances the Roman revenues from fifty to eighty-five millions of drachmæ, and brings to the value of twenty thousand talents into the treasury, *ib.* Ruined by the weight of his own power, 182. Lucullus gets his acts confirmed, which Pompey had annulled, *ib.* Pompey having lost his majority in the senate, has recourse to the tribunes of the people, *ib.* Clodius insists on his sacrificing Cicero, and he complies, 183. Cæsar, on his return from Spain, reconciles Pompey and Crassus, *ib.* Cæsar, in consequence of that union, is appointed consul, and proposes several laws agreeable to the people, but not to the senate, 184. Pompey declares he will defend those laws with the sword, *ib.* Marries Julia, Cæsar's daughter, who had been promised to Cæpio, *ib.* Gives his own daughter to Cæpio, who had been promised to Faustus, *ib.* The consul Bibulus and others are driven out of the Forum, by violence, and the law for the division of lands is carried, 185. The acts of Pompey are confirmed, and the two Gauls with Illyria are given to Cæsar for five years, *ib.* Cato foretells the calamities which would fall upon the commonwealth, and on Pompey himself, *ib.* Pompey becomes extremely uxorious, 186. Clodius behaves to him with extreme insolence, *ib.* Culleo advises him to repudiate Julia, others to recall Cicero, 187. He embraces the counsel of the latter, *ib.* Cicero on his return reconciles the senate to Pompey, and procures for him the important charge of supplying Rome with corn, *ib.* He executes it with great ability, 188, 189. During the wars in Gaul, Cæsar is privately making preparations at Rome for his future sovereignty, 189. Pompey and Crassus give him the meeting at Lucca, where it is agreed that they two shall have the consulship the ensuing year, and Cæsar his command con-

tinued for five years more, *ib.* 190. Marcellinus attempts to bring this mattter to an eclaircissement, 190. The answer which Pompey and Crassus gave him, *ib.* Pompey prevents Cato from being elected prætor, by pretence of having seen an inauspicious flight of birds, 191. The greatest part of the Roman empire being divided among the triumvirate, Pompey is to have Africa, and both the Spains, for his share, *ib.* He exhibits games on the dedication of his theatre, *ib.* Julia's great affection for him, 192. He affects to despise Cæsar, 194. Suffers anarchy to prevail, in order that he himself may be appointed dictator, *ib.* Is prevented by Cato for a time, *ib.* Suffers confusion to take place again, 195. Bibulus makes a motion that Pompey should be declared sole consul, and Cato approves it, *ib.* Pompey marries Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio, *ib.* 196. He makes laws against bribery, and against encomiums upon persons accused, but is extremely partial in the execution of them, 196, 197. Takes his father-in-law for his collegue, the last five months of his time, 197. His governments are continued to him four years more, and he has a thousand talents a-year allowed for the subsistence and pay of his troops, *ib.* Cæsar's friends demand that he should either have another consulship, or the term of his governments prolonged, and Pompey favours that requisition; but Cato's ill-timed severity prevents any accommodation, *ib.* 198. Pompey redemands the two legions which he had lent Cæsar, and Cæsar sends them home liberally rewarded, 198. Great rejoicings are made in Italy for Pompey's recovery from sickness, 198. He is lulled asleep with the pride of power, and makes no preparations for war, 199. Marcellus, at the head of the senate, marches out of the city to him, 201. Pompey has no success in the new levies, *ib.* Cicero endeavours to bring about a reconciliation, but without effect, between Pompey and Cæsar, 202. Cæsar, having seized Ariminum, marches with a small body of men, and passes the Rubicon, *ib.* Tullus asks Pompey what forces he has ready for the war, and receives an unsatisfactory answer, *ib.* 203. Pompey is invested with discretionary powers, 203. He declares he will consider those who remain in Rome as the partisans of Cæsar, 204. Cæsar hastens to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain, *ib.* Pompey sails from Brundusium to Dyrrachium, having first filled the principal streets of Brundusium with sharp stakes, and covered them with earth, *ib.* 205. Cæsar having made himself master of all Italy in sixty days, marches into Spain with an intent to gain Pompey's forces there, 206. Pompey exercises his new-raised troops with great diligence and activity, *ib.* Many kings and princes repair to his camp, and he has a complete senate about him, 207. Even Labienus and Brutus repair to his standard, *ib.* Cicero, though he had advised otherwise, and Tidius Sextius, though extremely old, do the same, *ib.* The humane decree made at the motion of Cato, 208. Cæsar, having made himself master of Pompey's forces in Spain, marches back through Italy, sails to Oricum,

and sends Vibullius Rufus to Pompey with proposals of peace, *ib.* Pompey, instead of accepting the proposals, secures the ports and strong holds, *ib.* Cæsar often attacks Pompey's entrenchments, and in one of those assaults incurs the danger of losing his whole army, 209. Pompey does not pursue his advantage, *ib.* Cæsar, for want of provisions, is forced to decamp, and takes his way to Thessaly, 210. Upon this, Pompey's troops are too much elated, and impatient for a decisive action, *ib.* Afranius advises Pompey to regain Italy, *ib.* His reasons for refusing that advice, *ib.* He pursues Cæsar, and comes up with him on the plains of Pharsalia, 211, 212. Is teased into a battle, against his better judgment, 212. His dream, *ib.* 213. Another presage of his defeat, 213. Pompey orders his army to wait for the enemy's charge, 215. Pompey quits his ranks, and retires to his camp; but finding that not secure, he changes his habit and flies, 218. The enemy finds Pompey's camp full of preparations for festivity, 219. Pompey, not being pursued, quits his horse, passes by Larissa, and comes to Tempe, *ib.* Goes down to the sea-coast, and passes the remainder of the night in a fisherman's cabin. 220. Coasts along in a small river-boat, *ib.* Is taken up by Peticius, a Roman citizen, into a ship of burthen, *ib.* The persons with him, *ib.* Steers for Mitylene to receive Cornelia and his son, 221. Their distressful meeting, *ib.* The advice he gave to the people of Mitylene, 223. He complains to Cratippus of Providence, *ib.* Sets sail with his wife and friends, *ib.* Touches at Attalia, where he is joined by some Cilician gallies, *ib.* Finds in a little time sixty senators about him, *ib.* Is informed that his fleet is entire, and that Cato is gone with it to Africa, *ib.* Laments his great error in giving Cæsar battle at a distance from his fleet, *ib.* Raises men and money, 224. Deliberates about the country he shall retire to, and fixes at last upon Egypt, *ib.* 225. Notifies his arrival to Ptolemy, 225. The young king demands of his council in what manner he ought to treat him, and concludes to put him to death, 225, 226. A boat is sent to receive him, 226. Cornelia divines his fate, 227. His last words to her, *ib.* Ptolemy's people sit sullen in the boat, and assassinate Pompey as he is getting out, *ib.* Slain the day after his birth-day, at the age of fifty-nine, *ib.* His body is thrown out naked, 228. Buried by his freedman Philip, and an old Roman soldier, who was a sojourner in Egypt, *ib.* Cæsar arrives in Egypt, and executes vengeance on the murtherers of Pompey, 229.

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———, wounded and taken prisoner by Mithridates, iii. 346. He answers with a dignity becoming a Roman, to Mithridates' proposals, 347.
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† *Potidæa*, ii. 120. iv. 243.
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Power, what it's effect, iii. 276. Arbitrary power a burthen to the possessor, as well as to the people, ii. 249. vi. 183.
Præcia, a courtesan, her influence in Rome, iii. 333, 334.
† *Prænestines*, iii. 278.
Prætexta, a Roman garment edged with purple, i. 83, *n*.
Prætorian cohorts, vi. 245.
Pranichus, the poet, iv. 317.
Prayer, i. 193. Of Camillus, 369.
Praxiergidæ, the persons who performed certain ceremonies about the image of Minerva, ii. 163.
† *Priene*, i. 223. ii. 38. v. 480.
Prima, said to be the daughter of Romulus by Ersilia, i. 71.
Principia, the general's quarters in the Roman camp, esteemed sacred, on account of the images of the gods being placed there, vi. 221, *n*.
Priscus. See *Helvidius Priscus*.
Priapus, i. 51.
† *Probalinthus*, a city of Tetrapolis, i. 14, *n*.
Procrustes. See *Damastes*.
Proculeius, employed by Augustus to get Cleopatra alive into his hands, v. 500.
Proculus, Julius, makes oath that Romulus had appeared to him in a form more than mortal, i. 96. Sent to offer Numa the crown, 173.
———, captain of the guards to Otho, vi. 252.
Prodici, the guardians of kings who were minors, so called by the Lacedæmonians, i. 112.
Prodigies. The sweating of the image of the god Adranus, and the brandishing of his spear, ii. 246. The preternatural overflowing of the Alban lake, i. 365, 366. The vanishing of the body of Alcmena, 98. What happened in marking out the foundations of Alexandria, iv. 279. Stone said to fall from heaven, iii. 290. What happened to a person, who leaped upon the altar of the twelve gods, 419. One of Antony's statues at

Alba sweats for many days, v. 483. An altar emits a bright flame when the fire seemed to be extinguished, 315. At Argos the priestess of the Lycean Apollo runs into the streets, and cries out that 'she sees the city covered with blood and gore,' iii. 113. The vanishing of Aristeas the Proconnesian, i. 97. Incidents relating to bees interpreted as prodigies, vi. 23, 93, 102. The raining of blood, i. 90. Ceres and Proserpine attiring themselves for a journey, ii. 239. The vanishing of Cleomenes the Astypalensian, i. 97, 98. The entwining of a snake about the face of Cleomenes on the cross, v. 195. A child born with an elephant's head, ii. 433. Crows conduct Alexander through the Lybian deserts to the temple of Ammon, iv. 282. Eagles, and standards so called, prodigies relating to them, iii. 167, 475. v. 234. vi. 23, 93, 102. Entrails slip out of the hands of Crassus, iii. 475. A fish seizes the hinder parts of a hog intended for sacrifice, v. 34. A flame issues from the standard, iii. 240. A globe of fire falls between two armies, 337. A double gall belonging to one victim, and enclosed in one caul, vi. 197. The Hermæ defaced in Athens in one night, ii. 138. iii. 488. Liver without a head, iii. 111, 321. iv. 348. Lightning, prodigies relating to it, ii. 313, 433. iii. 474. v. 483. vi. 36. Moons. Three seen at one time, ii. 392. Orpheus' statue of cypress-wood sweats profusely, iv. 259. Oxen, prodigies relating to them, ii. 433. iii. 114. v. 36, 37. Palm-tree grows up by the base of Cæsar's statue, iv. 412. Ram with one horn, ii. 10. River in the Picene appears to flow with blood, ii. 392. Ravens devour their young in the city of Rome, iii. 240. Serpents creep into a helmet, and lay their eggs there, v. 217. Shields and spears, and persons fighting, seen in the sky, iii. 141. Sound of a trumpet in a mournful tone heard in the air, 240, 241. Crown of victory falls upon the head of Timoleon in the temple at Delphi, ii. 240. Tumbles down at Pergamus, iii. 246. Voice from heaven announces the coming of the Gauls, i. 378. See *Omens*.

Prolyta, daughter of Agesilaus, iv. 94.

Promachus, victorious in a drinking-match, dies in three days, iv. 343, 344.

Promathion, the historian, i. 52.

Prometheus, iv. 126.

Promontories, of Diana, v. 33.

Propertius, i. 38, *n*.

Prophantus, brother to Clinias, his wife saves Aratus, vi. 154.

†*Propontis*, iii. 334.

Proserpine, the wife of Aïdoneus, king of the Molossians, i. 40.

———, the ceremonies of her feast, iii. 339, 340. Her robe worn by the person who took the Great Oath, vi. 52.

Prosperity, iii. 328. iv. 50.

Protagoras, the philosopher, ii. 55. Banished Athens for ascribing extraordinary phenomena to natural causes, iii. 435.

Proteas, desires of Alexander a proof of his being reconciled to him, and he gives him five talents, iv. 302.

Protheus, the Spartan, endeavours to prevent the war with the Thebans, iv. 106.
Prothytes, demanded by Alexander of the Thebans, iv. 256.
Protogenes, the Caunian, a celebrated painter, v. 384.
Protus, a merchant, founder of Massilia or Marseilles, i. 221.
Proverbs. 'Nothing without Theseus,' i. 37. 'Business to-morrow,' ii. 353. 'A platter would not hold a dolphin,' iii. 358. 'He plays the Cretan with a Cretan,' 213. 'He carries hay,' or 'wears wisps' on his horns, 456. 'Dead men do not bite,' iv. 226. vi. 87. 'Such a one has need of nothing but parsley,' ii. 262. 'The die is cast,' iv. 202. vi. 182. 'In wine there is truth,' vi. 130. 'Woe to the conquered,' i. 397.
Providence, particular, ii. 252.
Proxenus, the Macedonian, discovers a spring of an oily nature on the banks of the river Oxus, iv. 326.
Prusias, king of Bithynia. Annibal flies to his court, and is demanded of him by the Romans, iii. 57.
Prytanes, members of the Athenian senate, i. 19, *n.*
Prytaneum, i. 19.
Prytanis, the grandfather of Lycurgus, i. 100, 101.
Psammo, the philosopher, asserts the divine power and providence, iv. 283.
Psenophis, priest of Heliopolis, i. 258.
Psyche, the wife of Marphadates the Cappadocian, corrupted by the son of Cato of Utica, v. 122.
Psylli, Africans who cured persons bitten by serpents by sucking the parts affected, v. 105, 106.
Ptœodorus, of Megara, vindicated by Dion, vi. 16.
Ptolemaïs, the daughter of Ptolemy, given in marriage to Demetrius, v. 396, 413.
Ptolemy, restored to his kingdom by Gabinius and Mark Antony, v. 427.
———, natural son of Amyntas II., makes war upon his brother Alexander king of Macedon, ii. 373. Is the father of *Philoxenus*, 374.
———, son of Pyrrhus and Antigone, iii. 72. Killed in the battle with the Lacedæmonians on the way to Argos, 111.
——— *Ceraunus*, king of Macedon, killed in the battle by the Gauls, iii. 97.
——— *Lathyrus*, king of Egypt, appoints Lucullus a table in the palace, and offers him presents to the value of eighty talents; but he refuses them, and takes nothing but ships, which he was sent by Sylla to procure, iii. 328, 329.
———, nephew to Antigonus, sent as an hostage for Eumenes to come and treat, iv. 52.
——— *Dionysius*, king of Egypt, deliberates on the measures he should take with respect to Pompey, iv. 225. An account of his vile ministers, who persuade him to destroy that great man, *ib.* Defeated in battle by Cæsar, and never heard of afterward, 229, 415.

Ptolemy Lagus, subsequently king of Egypt, one of Alexander's principal officers, marries Apama, iv. 39.
———, king of Egypt, Cato's advice to him, v. 84, 85.
———, king of Cyprus, the proposals Cato made him, v. 84. He poisons himself, 85.
——— *Philometor*, makes proposals of marriage to Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, v. 200.
———, the son of Chrysermus, visits Cleomenes in prison, v. 192. He is killed, 194.
——— *Euergetes*, his friendship to Aratus, and favours to the Sicyonians on his account, vi. 163, 164, 166. Declared head of the Achæan league, 176. Demands of Cleomenes his mother and children as hostages, v. 178. Behaves with some degree of generosity to that prince, and promises to send him back to Greece, 188, 189. His death, 189.
——— *Philopator*, son of Euergetes, his effeminate life, and ill treatment of Cleomenes, v. 189. Orders the body of Cleomenes to be fastened to a cross, 195. A serpent entwines about the head of Cleomenes, 197. The superstitious fears of Philopator on that occasion, *ib.*
———, governor of Alexandria, killed by Cleomenes, v. 194.
———, the diviner, his prediction to Otho, vi. 235.
Ptoüm, ii. 360.
PUBLICOLA, Valerius, descended from the ancient Valerius, who was the chief author of the union between the Romans and the Sabines, i. 271. Distinguished under the kings by his eloquence and riches, *ib.* Employs both with great propriety, *ib.* Assists Brutus in expelling Tarquin and his family, 272. Stands for the consulship with Brutus, and loses his election, *ib.* Is the first who takes the oath proposed by Brutus, to support the Roman liberty; though before he had retired from public business in discontent, 273. Tarquin, by his embassadors, proposes to treat, but Valerius will not suffer them to be heard, 274. The embassadors during their stay corrupt the nephews of Collatinus, and the sons of Brutus, and a plot is formed to kill the consuls, which a slave, named Vindicius, discovers, and informs Valerius of it, 275—277. He and his brother secure the conspirators, and seize the letters which were to be sent to Tarquin, 275. The consul Collatinus, being accused of favouring his relations who had conspired against the commonwealth, is degraded, and Valerius substituted in his place, 279, 280. The armies of Tarquin and the Romans, after great slaughter, being separated by a storm, Valerius avails himself of a stratagem to encourage the Romans, 282, 283. Valerius triumphs, and is the first consul who enters Rome in a chariot and four, 283. Pronounces the eulogium of Brutus, *ib.* Is envied for his governing without a collegue, and for his lofty house, 284. Gains the name of Publicola, 286. Fills up the senate, *ib.* Passes an act for liberty of appeal from the consuls to the people, *ib.* Exempts artificers, and others, from taxes, *ib.* Makes it lawful, without form of trial, to

kill any man who should attempt to set himself up for king, 287. Places the public treasure in the temple of Saturn, and permits the people to choose quæstors for the management of it, *ib.* Takes Lucretius, and afterward Marcus Horatius, for his collegue, 288. Is desirous to have the dedicating of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which was built by Tarquin, but the senate assigns that honour to Horatius, 290. Is again chosen consul, 293. Builds the town of Sigliuria, *ib.* Engages Porsena, and is defeated, and carried off wounded, *ib.* Is chosen consul the third time, *ib.* 294. Stands chiefly upon the defensive, but defeats a flying party that was ravaging the country, 295. Refers the dispute between the Romans and Tarquin to Porsena, 297. Tarquin refuses to abide by his arbitration, but Porsena makes peace with the Romans, *ib.* The ten virgins given as hostages by the Romans, swim across a stream to Publicola: his behaviour on that occasion, *ib.* Is chosen consul the fourth time, 299. Consults the Sibyl's books upon certain natural appearances of an alarming kind, 300. His reception of Appius Claudius, founder of the Claudian family, who migrates with a very considerable number of Sabines, to Rome, 301. The Sabines, renewing the war, form an ambuscade for the Romans; but Publicola, by a counter-stratagem, defeats them with great slaughter, 302. He is honoured with a triumph, 303. Dies soon afterward, and is buried at the public charge, *ib.* The women continue the mourning for him a whole year, *ib.*

Publicus, steals the scabbard of Mithridates' sword, and sells it to Ariarathes, iv. 178. See all the *Publii* under their family-names.

Punishment, corporal, the practice of it in our public schools one of the worst remains of barbarism, I. xxx.

Purple, that of Hermione much esteemed, iv. 298. Preserves it's colour, a hundred and ninety years, *ib.* In what manner prepared, *ib.*

† *Puteoli*, iii. 283.

Pyanepsion, the month so called, i. 25, 46.

† *Pydna*, ii. 302. iv. 314.

Pylades, the musician, iii. 15.

Pylius, king of Thespiæ in Bœotia, adopts Hercules, previous to initiation, i. 42.

† *Pylos*, iii. 407.

† *Pyramia*, iii. 114.

† *Pyrenees*, i. 378. iv. 10.

Pyrilampes, a person connected with Pericles, ii. 25.

Pyronides, ii. 38.

Pyrrha, iii. 65.

Pyrrhidæ, the successors of Neoptolemus so called, iii. 65.

Pyrrhus, the son of Æacides and Phthia, iii. 66. His saying concerning the Romans, 37. Some account of the peopling and polishing of his country, 65, 66. Has two sisters named Deïdamia and Troias, 66. His father is deposed, and the sons of Neoptolemus brought in, 66. Pyrrhus is carried off, when an infant,

by two faithful servants, named Androclides and Angelus, to the court of Glaucias king of Illyria, and laid as a suppliant at his feet, 66, 67, 68. Glaucias, after some hesitation, takes the infant into his protection, 68. Cassander, king of Macedon, demands him of Glaucias, who refuses to deliver him up, *ib.* Glaucias conducts him, at an early period, into Epirus, and places him on the throne, *ib.* His person described, *ib.* Believed to cure the swelling of the spleen, by touching the part affected with his toe, *ib.* About five years afterward, he goes out of his own territories, to attend the nuptials of one of Glaucias' sons, 69. The Molossians take that opportunity to revolt to Neoptolemus again, *ib.* Pyrrhus applies for protection to Demetrius, who had married his sister Deïdamia, *ib.* Accompanies Demetrius at Ipsus, and distinguishes himself in that battle, *ib.* Keeps for Demetrius the cities of Greece, *ib.* Goes a hostage into Egypt, where he gains the favour of Ptolemy and Berenice, *ib.* 70. Marries Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, by Philip her former husband, 70. Antigone procures him men and money, which enable him to recover the kingdom of Epirus, *ib.* He associates Neoptolemus in the kingdom, *ib.* The kings of Epirus took an oath in the manner of the kings of England, *ib.* Neoptolemus attempts, or it is pretended that he attempts, to poison Pyrrhus, 71. Pyrrhus despatches Neoptolemus, 72. Has a son by Antigone, whom he names Ptolemy, 72. Builds the city of Berenicis, *ib.* Alexander, the son of Cassander, applies to him for assistance against his brother Antipater who had driven him out of Macedon, *ib.* He demands the maritime part of Macedon for his reward, *ib.* Lysimachus, who was inclined to assist Antipater, forges letters as from Ptolemy king of Egypt, to retard the progress of Pyrrhus, *ib.* 73. Pyrrhus detects the fraud, 73. Demetrius, who had likewise been applied to, arrives, kills Alexander, and gets himself proclaimed king of Macedon, *ib.* Demetrius is jealous of the growing power of Pyrrhus, and goes to seek him in the field, *ib.* 74. They inadvertently pass each other, 74. Pyrrhus finds Pantauchus, Demetrius' lieutenant, and gives him a great overthrow, 74. The Macedonians conceive a high opinion of his valour, and discover in him a strong resemblance of Alexander the Great, *ib.* Antigonus' saying concerning him, 75. Not easily provoked, quick to repay a kindness, *ib.* Saying of his, *ib.* 76. After the death of Antigone, he marries several wives, for the purpose of interest and power, 76. Beside his son Ptolemy, already mentioned, he has Alexander by Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles, and Helenus by Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis, *ib.* Says he will leave his kingdom to the son who has the sharpest sword, *ib.* The Epirots give him the name of Eagle, *ib.* Has intelligence that Demetrius is sick, enters Macedon, and penetrates as far as Edessa, 77. Demetrius marches against him, and he retires, *ib.* Demetrius meditates an expedition for the recovery of his paternal kingdom, *ib.* The other kings desire Pyrrhus to exert himself

on this occasion, 77. Pyrrhus loses his wife Lanassa, and the isle of Corcyra, both which are gained by Demetrius, 78. He marches against Berœa, ib. His dream concerning Alexander the Great, ib. Takes Berœa, 79. Demetrius, apprehending that his army might revolt to Lysimachus, if he continued his march against him, turns against Pyrrhus, ib. The Macedonians revolt to Pyrrhus, and he is proclaimed king of Macedon, ib. 80. Lysimachus makes his appearance soon afterward, and pretending that he had contributed equally to the flight of Demetrius, demands his share of the kingdom, which Pyrrhus agrees to, 80. Pyrrhus enters the citadel of Athens, ib. Advises the Athenians never to admit another king within their walls, 81. Takes the Grecian cities from Demetrius, notwithstanding the peace he had made with him, ib. Demetrius' affairs being entirely ruined, Lysimachus marches against Pyrrhus, debauches his army, and dispossesses him of his share of Macedon, ib. Pyrrhus' impatience of inaction is relieved by an application from the Tarentines, for assistance against the Romans, 82. Meton, the Tarentine, endeavours to dissuade his countrymen from calling in Pyrrhus, and to excite their attention, feigns himself intoxicated, ib. Cineas first minister to Pyrrhus draws him into a conversation, in which he shows him the vanity of ambition, but does not cure him of that disease, 83, 84, 85. He meets with a dreadful storm in his passage to Italy, 85. Makes the land with great difficulty, and marches with the scattered remains of his forces to Tarentum, ib. 86. Corrects the luxury of the Tarentines, and introduces strict discipline, ib. 87. Has intelligence that Lævinus the Roman consul, is coming against him, 87. Goes to the river Siris to reconnoitre the enemy's army, ib. What he said on the occasion, ib. His proposal of acting as a mediator is rejected, ib. The action on the banks of the Siris, in which Pyrrhus proves victorious, chiefly by means of his elephants, 88, 89. Notwithstanding his victory, he despatches Cineas to Rome, with propositions of peace, which are rejected, 90, 91. Fabricius sent as embassador to Pyrrhus, to treat about the ransom and exchange of prisoners, 93. Pyrrhus offers him money, which he refuses, though his circumstances were very mean, ib. Pyrrhus' physician makes Fabricius an offer of poisoning him, which Fabricius discovers to Pyrrhus, 94, 94. Pyrrhus defeats the Romans again at Asculum, 95, 96. Says to those who complimented him upon it, ' Such another victory, and we are undone,' 96. Receives invitations from the Macedonians on one hand, and from the Sicilians on the other, 97. Leaves a garrison in Tarentum, contrary to the inclinations of the people, and passes into Sicily, 98. Finds the most agreeable reception there, ib. Ravages the Carthaginian province, takes Eryx by storm, and celebrates the games which he had vowed to Hercules, ib. Defeats the Mamertines, a numerous and warlike people, about Messane, 99. The Carthaginians court his friendship; but he insists upon their evacuating Sicily, which they refuse, ib. His next object is Africa; and wanting mariners, he compels the Sicilians to supply him, ib. Degenerates from a popular prince into a tyrant,

100. Ungrateful to Thænon and Sostratus, the persons who first introduced him into Syracuse, *ib.* Loses his influence in Sicily, *ib.* What he said on leaving it, *ib.* The Mamertines attack him, after his return to Italy, 101. He cleaves down one of their soldiers, who challenged him to single combat, *ib.* Marches against Manius Curius, who lay at Beneventum, and is defeated, 102. Returns to Epirus, enters Macedon, defeats Antigonus, and is once more raised to the throne of Macedon, 103, 104. Marches to Sparta, at the request of Cleonymus, 105. His operations before Sparta, 106, 107. He is repulsed, 108. On the invitation of Aristeæ, marches to Argos, 111. His son Ptolemy is killed by the way, *ib.* He sends a challenge to Antigonus, 112. Enters Argos, 113. His actions there, 114. His orders are mistaken, 115. He takes the plume from his helmet, *ib.* Struck down by a poor old woman with a tile, 116. Despatched by Zopyrus, who cuts off his head, 117. A magnificent funeral pile provided for him by Antigonus, who gives his ashes to his son Helenus, 118.

Pythagoras, a Spartan, remarkable in the gymnastic exercises, visits Italy, i. 165.

————, the philosopher, went into Italy about five ages after Numa, i. 165. Affects to be thought something superior to the rest of the human race, 178. Uses a tame eagle to serve that purpose, and shows his golden thigh, *ib.* Believes the Supreme Being to be incorruptible, impassive, invisible, and an object only of the mind, 179. Sacrifices nothing to him that has life, 180. His precepts, 192. A statue erected to him at Rome, as the wisest of the Greeks, 181. Eulogium of him, xxxvi.—xxxix.

————, the diviner, iv. 348.

Pytheas, the orator, severely reproved by Phocion, for his impudence in speaking to the people, v. 25. Tells Demosthenes that 'his orations smell of the lamp,' 260. Joins Antipater, 284. Speaks to the Arcadians against the Athenians, 285. Is answered by Demosthenes, *ib.*

Pythian Apollo. See *Apollo Pythius.* Games. See *Games.*

Pythionice, the mistress of Harpalus, v. 26. He erects a magnificent monument to her memory, *ib.*

†*Pythium*, ii. 300.

Pythocles, son of Polycrates, a descendent of Aratus, vi. 153. Plutarch writes the Life of Aratus for the benefit of him and his brother, *ib.*

————, one of those who suffered death with Phocion, v. 42.

Pythoclides, said to teach Pericles music, ii. 7.

Pythodorus, lies in wait for Themistocles, i. 348.

Pytholaüs, brother to Thebe, the wife of Alexander of Pheræ, assists her in despatching him, ii. 386.

Python, one of Alexander's officers, iv. 352.

————, the musician, iii. 75.

————, the Byzantine orator, refuted by Demosthenes, v. 261.

————, the serpent killed by Apollo, ii. 360.

†*Pythopolis*, a city built by Theseus, i. 33.

Q.

QUADRANS, a small piece of brass coin, v. 328. Which each Roman citizen contributed toward Publicola's funeral, i. 303.
Quadrantaria, or Quadrantula, a name given to an infamous sister of Clodius, v. 328.
Quæstor, the office what, i. 287. By whom first instituted, *ib.*
Quails, ii. 123.
Quarrels. See *Dissensions.*
† *Quinda*, iv. 55. v. 396.
Quintilis, the month now called July, i. 95.
Quintio, one of Cato the Censor's freedmen, ii. 523.
Quintius, Titus, and Lucius, brothers. See *Flaminius.*
———, Lucius, the tribune, attempts to rescind the acts of Sylla, but is opposed by Lucullus, iii. 333. Obtains a decree for recalling Lucullus, 376.
———. See *Capitolinus.*
Quintus Cassius, goes with Antony to Cæsar, v. 430.
———, one of Crassus lieutenants, flies from Spartacus, iii. 462. See all the other *Quinti*, under their family names.
Quirinal, mount, in Rome, i. 100, 191.
Quirinalis, Flamen, i. 176.
Quirinus, Romulus so called, i. 97, 99, 100, 167.
Quiris, the meaning of the term, i. 82, *n.* 100.
Quirites, the Romans why so called, i. 82, 99.
Quiritis. See *Juno Quiritius.*

R.

RAIN, an attempt to account for its falling in great quantities after a battle, iii. 146, 147.
Ram with one horn, found in the grounds of Pericles, ii. 10. Explained in the way of omen, *ib.* Accounted for philosophically, *ib.*
Rape, of the Sabine virgins, i. 70. Occasions a war, 74. Productive of better consequences, 81. Rape of Helen, by Theseus. See *Helen.*
———, how punished, by Solon's laws, i. 252.
Rat, heard to cry, when Minucius named his general of horse, ii. 394.
Ratumena, one of the gates of Rome, near the Capitol, i. 289.
† *Ravenna*, iii. 121.
Regia, a royal palace, i. 80, 191.
Registers, the Syracusan, taken by the Athenians, iii. 421.
Religion, its exercises to be performed with great reverence and attention, i. 191. How defined, ii. 283. The regard the Romans paid to it for a long time, 393, 394.
Remonium, a strong situation on mount Aventine, where Remus proposed to build the city, i. 62.

Remus, twin-brother of Romulus, i. 50. Seized and carried before Numitor, 57. His speech, 58. Faustulus carries to court the trough or cradle, in which Romulus and he were taken up, and he is acknowledged by Numitor, 59. What occasioned his death, 63. He is buried in Remonium, 64.
Resignation, v. 277.
Retreat, of 'the Ten Thousand' Greeks under Xenophon. See *Xenophon*.
Rhadamanthus, a judge under Minos, i. 17. Said to have married Alcmena, after the death of Amphitryon, iii. 224. The Haliartians show his tomb at Alea, *ib.*
† *Rhamnus*, v. 29.
————, one of Antony's freedmen, v. 472.
Rhamnenses, the name of one of the tribes of Rome, i. 83.
Rhea, Ilia, or Sylvia, daughter of Numitor, and mother of Romulus and Remus, i. 52.
——, the mother of Sertorius, iv. 4.
† *Rhegians*, ii. 243.
† *Rhegium*, ii. 97. vi. 26, 53.
† *Rhenia*, a little island near Delos, iii. 401.
Rhetoric, the art of ruling the minds of men, ii. 27.
Rhetræ, the fundamental statutes of Lycurgus, i. 119.
† *Rhine*, Cæsar lays a bridge over it, iv. 385.
† *Rhodes*, taken by Cassius, vi. 84.
† *Rhodians*, their brave defence against Demetrius, v. 383. They desire him to leave one of his engines, as a monument of the siege they had undergone, 382.
Rhodon, a traitor, v. 502.
Rhodogune, daughter of Artaxerxes, married to Orontes, vi. 146.
Rhœsaces, revolts from his master, the king of Persia, and retires to Athens, iii. 308. Is much harassed there by the public informers, *ib.* Applies to Cimon for protection, and offers him money, *ib.* Cimon's generous answer to him, *ib.*
————, attacks Alexander on his passing the Granicus, iv. 262. Alexander kills him, 263.
† *Rhœtium*, v. 179.
Rhone, river, iii. 137. iv. 4.
Rhopoperperethras, a name given to Demosthenes, v. 262.
Rhus, i. 36.
Rhymitalces, the Thracian, i. 77.
† *Rhyndacus*, river, iii. 341.
Rhyntaces, a Persian bird so called, vi. 135.
Riches, and eloquence, the means by which the Romans gained a place in the administration, iii. 125.
———, not to desire them, more glorious than to use them well, ii. 186. A competency preferable to them, i. 220. The true use of them, ii. 343.
Rignarium, i. 62.
† *Riphæan* mountains, i. 378.
Roads, the attention of C. Gracchus to the repairing of them, v. 230.

Roma, one of the Trojan matrons, who came with Æneas into Italy, i. 49. Advises her female companions to burn the ships, *ib.* Rome said to be called after her, or after Roma, the daughter of Italus and Leucaria, 50.

Romans, rise to the height of empire by means of temperance and fortitude, i. 97. Admit no use of images in the worship of the gods, for a hundred and seventy years after the building of Rome, 179. Retire into the Capitol on the coming of the Gauls, 386. Distressed by famine, 396. Delivered by Camillus, 397. Defeated by Annibal in the great battle of Cannæ, ii. 88. Behave with dignity on that occasion, 91. Their attention to religious ceremonies, 205. Offer human sacrifices on the invasion of the Gauls, after the first Punic war, 391. For some ages unpolished, and skilled only in agriculture and war, 422. Marcellus first gives them a taste for paintings, and other curiosities of art, for which he is blamed by the graver citizens, *ib.* Lose both their consuls by one of Annibal's stratagems, 436. Degenerated in the time of Cato the Censor, 497, 498. He compares them to sheep, 502. They reject the presents of Pyrrhus, and all propositions of peace, while he remains in Italy, iii. 91, 93. Proclaim liberty to the Greeks, iii. 43.

Romanus, son of Ulysses and Circe, i. 50.

Rome, uncertainty of the history of its foundation, i. 49. Built by Romulus, i. 61. The time of its foundation, 65. Its tribes and wards originally, what, 83. Its ferocious and uncivilized state at the accession of Numa, corrected by the influence of religion, 177, 178. Burnt by the Gauls, 390. Rebuilt by Camillus, 399. And adorned by Marcellus, ii. 422.

Romulus, various accounts of his origin, as well as that of Rome, i. 49, 51. The son of Ilia, Rhea, or Sylvia, the daughter of Numitor, 52, 53. Amulius, the brother of Numitor, orders Romulus, and his brother Remus, to be destroyed, but the servant only exposes them by the river, 53. There they were suckled some time by a she-wolf, *ib.* Taken up by Faustulus, and nursed by his wife Acca Larentia, 54. Sent to Gabii for education, 56. Their powers of body and mind, generous inclinations and actions, *ib.* They distinguish themselves in an affray between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius, 57 While Romulus is employed in divination, Remus is taken prisoner and brought to answer for the late violence, *ib.* The reigning prince leaves the correction of him to Numitor, who feels an instinctive kindness for him, *ib.* His speech to Numitor, 58. Who conceives hopes of his being his grandson, 59. Faustulus desires Romulus to assist his brother, and informs him of the particulars of his birth, *ib.* Faustulus hastens with the cradle to Numitor, but is questioned by Amulius' guards, who inform that prince of their suspicions, *ib.* Romulus arrives, brings a considerable force with him, and many of the citizens join with him, 60. The two brothers resolve to build a city in the place where they had their first nourishment, 61. Open a place of refuge for fugitives, *ib.* A dispute arises

between them about the situation of their intended city, which is referred to the decision of augury, and carried in favour of Romulus, 62. Remus ridicules, and leaps over the ditch which Romulus opened, 63. Remus slain, probably by the hand of Romulus, *ib.* Ceremonies observed in founding Rome, under the direction of proper persons from Hetruria, 64, 65. The twenty-first of April celebrated as the first day of Rome, 65. Romulus forms the most warlike of the people into legions, 67. Constitutes a senate, *ib.* Appoints the connexion between the patricians and plebeians, as patrons and clients, 68. Exhibits games, at which the intended rape of the Sabine women is put in execution, 69. Marries Ersilia, and has by her Aollius and Prima, 71. Kills Acron, king of the Ceninensians, with his own hand, and dedicates the *Spolia Opima* to Jupiter Feretrius, 74. A battle takes place between the Sabines and the Romans, in which he receives a blow on the head with a stone, and the Romans give ground, 79. Romulus prays to Jupiter, and the Romans return to the combat, 80. A peace is concluded, and the Sabines are incorporated with the Roman soldiers, 81. Story of the cornel-tree propagated from the shaft of Romulus' spear, 84. The Sabines receive the Roman months, and Romulus adopts the use of their shields, *ib.* The feasts agreed on to be instituted, 85. Romulus introduces the sacred fire at Rome, and appoints the Vestal virgins, 87. Is skilled in divination, and bears the Lituus, 88. His law concerning divorces, *ib.* Appoints no punishment for actual parricide, but calls all murther parricide, *ib.* 89. Tatius is killed at Lavinium, and Romulus gives his body an honourable interment, but does not punish his assassins, 89, 90. Thought accessary to his death, 90. The Latins send embassadors to him, *ib.* Takes Fidenæ, and makes it a Roman colony, *ib.* The Camerians attacking the Romans, Romulus defeats them, and takes and colonises their city, 91. The Veientes declare war against the Romans, *ib.* Extravagant account of the valour of Romulus, who defeats them, 92. Romulus triumphs for his victory, 93. After he has reduced the neighbouring countries, assumes the monarch to an odious degree, 93. Gives offence by his dress, guards, and lictors, *ib.* 94. On the death of his grandfather Numitor, he leaves the administration of Alba in the hands of the inhabitants, 94. He allows the Sabines in Rome also magistrates of their own, *ib.* He dictates to the senate, and the patricians go into the house only to learn the news of the day, *ib.* Other arbitrary acts of his, *ib.* He disappears unaccountably, 95. Various stories concerning his death, *ib.* All agree in this, that the senators despatched him, *ib.* 96. The senators tell the people that he was caught up to heaven, 96. Julius Proculus confirms it on the strength of a pretended apparition, *ib.* His age, 102. Compared with Theseus, *ib.*

Romus, son of Æmathion, i. 50.

———, king of the Latins, i. 50.

Roscius, the actor, iii. 282. v. 298.

Roscius, defended by Cicero against Sylla's prosecution, v. 295.
Roxana, sister to Mithridates, iii. 351. Dies untimely, execrating her brother, 352.
———, pregnant by Alexander, iv. 353. Is jealous of Statira, and procures the death both of that princess and her sister, *ib.*
Roxanes, a Persian officer, addresses Themistocles in reproachful terms, as he passes him in the court, i. 352.
† *Rubicon*, Cæsar passes it, but first deliberates, iv. 202, 396.
Rubrius, prætor in Macedon, v. 56.
Rufinus, one of the ancestors of Sylla, expelled the senate for being possessed of more than ten pounds weight of plate, iii. 230.
Rufus, Lucius, boasts of being concerned in killing Caius Gracchus, v. 220.
———, Cluvius, vi. 245, *n.*
Rumilia, the tutelar goddess of children at the breast, i. 53.
Ruminalis, what so called, and why, i. 53.
Rumours, extraordinary ones, ii. 313, 314.
Rustius, or Roscius, iii. 495, *n.*
Rutilius, lieutenant to Metellus, iii. 130.
———, Rufus, the historian, iii. 156. iv. 173.

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SABACO, Cassius. See *Cassius Sabaco.*
Sabbas, one of the kings of India, his revolt from Alexander, iv. 336.
Sabine women, carried off by the Romans, i. 69. Run in between the Romans and the Sabines, 80. Their eloquent remonstrance on that occasion, which conciliates a peace, *ib.* 81. The honours paid them by the Romans, 81.
† *Sabines*, a colony of Lacedæmonians, i. 73, 165, 166. Attack the Romans, on account of the rape, 73, 74. Invade the Roman territories, and are defeated by Marcus Valerius, brother to Publicola, losing thirteen thousand of their men, i. 299. Again defeated by Publicola, 302.
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Sacred band of Thebans. See *Band.* Fire, i. 87. Mount, ii. 180. War, ii. 34, 267, *n.*
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† *Sagra*, river, ii. 314.
† *Salamis*, i. 18. Said to be first given up to the Athenians by Philæus and Eurysaces, the sons of Ajax, i. 230. The Athenians lose it, and, after many vain trials, make a law that there shall be no more attempts for recovering it, 227. Recovered by Solon, 228. The Grecian and Persian fleets engage in the straits of Salamis, 333—335. Surrendered to Demetrius, v. 378.
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Salii, priests instituted by Numa, to take charge of the brasen

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Salius, commander of the Pelignians, throws his standard among the enemy, ii. 307.
——, a person of Samothrace or Mantinea, said to have taught the dance in armour, i. 190.
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Salonius, steward to Cato. Cato the Censor, in his old age, marries his daughter, ii. 527, 528.
——, Cato. See *Cato Salonius*.
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Salvius, a Roman who had served under Pompey, takes part in his assassination, iv. 226.
Samæna, a kind of ship so called, ii. 40.
Sambuca, a machine invented by Marcellus in the siege of Syracuse, ii. 410. It is destroyed by Archimedes, 412.
† *Samians*, beat the Athenian fleet after Pericles was gone, and brand the prisoners in the forehead with the figure of an owl, ii. 40. The Athenians had branded them with a Samæna, and thence they were called by Aristophanes a lettered people, *ib.* They are entirely reduced by Pericles, 41. Their flattery to Lysander, iii. 210.
† *Samnites*, iii. 83. v. 205.
Samon, chief herdsman to Neoptolemus, iii. 71.
† *Samos*, Pericles beats down the walls of it's capital, ii. 41.
† *Samosata*, v. 457.
† *Samothrace*, or Samothracia, iii. 243. iv. 153.
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Samothracians at Sparta, v. 162.
Sandace, sister to Xerxes, her three sons sacrificed by the Greeks to Bacchus Omestes, i. 332.
† *Sapha*, iii. 358.
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† *Sardis*, iii. 196. iv. 48, 264. v. 413.
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Satibarzanes, an eunuch belonging to Artaxerxes, vi. 127.
† *Satricum* taken by the Tuscans, i. 410. Retaken by Camillus, 411.
Satureius, Publius, the tribune, gives Tiberius Gracchus the first wound, v. 220.
Saturnalia, feast of, i. 209. iii. 258. v. 313.

Saturninus, Lucius, a furious tribune, iii. 137. Supports Marius in all his measures, *ib.* and 156. Proposes an Agrarian law, 157. Banishes Metellus, 159. Retires into the Capitol, 160. Is promised indemnity on surrendering himself, *ib.* Killed notwithstanding, as soon as he enters the Forum, *ib.*

Satyr, brought to Sylla, iii. 268.

Satyrus, the diviner (or, as he is called by others, Orthagoras), assists in killing Timophanes, the brother of Timoleon, ii. 236.

———, the actor, forms the pronunciation and delivery of Demosthenes, v. 258, 259.

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Scævola. See *Mutius*.

Scambonis, a ward in Athens, ii. 144.

Scapte Hyle, what, iii. 297, *n*.

Scaurus, his daughter Æmilia is Pompey's second wife, iv. 134.

Scedasus, the story of his daughters, ii. 365.

Scellius, a friend of Antony's, attends him in his flight at the battle of Actium, v. 489.

Scenes, a slave of Pompey's, iv. 227.

Scenical Entertainments. See *Theatrical*.

Sceuthas, servant to Aratus, vi. 156.

Schinocephalus, a name given to Pericles, ii. 6.

† *Scilloustis*, isle of, iv. 339.

† *Scionæans*, re-established by Lysander, iii. 204.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius, surnamed Africanus, appointed president of the senate by Flaminius, iii. 54. Undertakes to remove the Carthaginian war from Italy into Africa, ii. 102. His great actions there, 104. He defeats Annibal, 105. Has an interview with Annibal at Ephesus, iii. 59. They debate who was the greatest general in the world, *ib*.

——, Nasica, son-in-law to Africanus, offers to conduct a party round for Æmilius, in order to take Perseus on the more accessible side, ii. 300. Executes the service with great ability, *ib*. 301. An enemy to Tiberius Gracchus, and why, v. 212. Puts Tiberius to death, 219, 220.

——, Æmilianus, or the second Africanus, happily formed for virtue, valiant, and ambitious of glory, ii. 310, 311. The army afraid that he was lost in the action with Perseus, 310. Favours the people in his administration, 333. In that respect different from his father, *ib*. Foretells the future greatness of Marius, iii. 123. Disobliges the people by opposing the Agrarian law, v. 222. Different accounts of his death, i. 95. v. 233.

——, Metellus, father-in-law to Pompey, iv. 195, 196. Pompey assigns him the command in Macedon, 405. The altercations between him and other friends of Pompey about succeeding Cæsar in the pontificate, 212. He commands the main body in the battle of Pharsalia, 214. He and Cato retire into Africa, 416, 417. Is received by Juba, king of Mauritania, 417. v. 106. Is defeated by Cæsar at Thapsus, 108.

Scipio Sallution, a mean person in Cæsar's army, Cæsar gives him the titular command, in order to turn an ancient prophecy on his side, iv. 417.
† *Sciradium*, promontory of, i. 229.
Sciras, provides Theseus with a Salaminian pilot, i. 18.
Sciron, temple of, i. 19.
———, slain by Theseus, i. 11, 31, 32.
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Scopas, the Thessalian, a saying of his, ii. 518.
Scorpions, a military instrument, ii. 412.
————, seen fighting by Marius on the African coast; it is deemed ominous, iii. 173.
† *Scotusa*, iii. 39. iv. 213.
† *Scotussæa*, i. 36.
Scropha, quæstor to Crassus, iii. 462.
† *Scyros*, isle of, Theseus retires thither, i. 44. Taken by Cimon, iii. 303.
Scytale, what, iii. 212.
Scytalæ, serpents so called, iii. 496.
Scytha, one of the Lacedæmonians sent to Larissa by Agesilaus, iv. 90.
† *Scythians*, iii. 481. v. 381.
Sea. See *Caspian* and *Mediterranean*.
Secession, of the Roman people to the sacred mount, ii. 181.
Secundus, secretary to Otho, vi. 253.
Sedition. See *Neuters*.
Seisacthia, what, i. 241.
† *Seleucia*, upon the Tigris, iii. 358, 472, 473.
Seleucus I. surnamed Nicanor, recovers Babylon from Antigonus, v. 269. He marries Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius, 395. Quarrels with Demetrius, 397. Discovers by means of his physician, that his son Antiochus is desperately in love with Stratonice, 403. Gives her up to his son, and assigns him a considerable territory, 404. Enters into alliance with Ptolemy and Lysimachus against Demetrius, 410. Gains over the army of Demetrius, and keeps him a prisoner at large, 417, 418. A saying of his, 416, 417.
† *Sellasia*, battle of, iii. 7, 8.
† *Selybria*, taken by Alcibiades, ii. 158.
† *Sempronius*, Tiberius, consul, ii. 393. Much beloved by the people of Rome, *ib.* Permitted to nominate his own successors, *ib.*
———— *Indistrus* (or rather *Densus*), a centurion, without any particular obligation to Galba, stands up in his defence, and is killed in the attempt, vi. 238, 239.
Senate, of Sparta, of what number it consisted, i. 119. The method of choosing it's members, 151. Is the principal support of the Spartan state, 119. Of Athens, i. 244. v. 373. Of Rome, oppose Caius Gracchus with his own weapons, v. 231.
Senators, Roman, called 'Fathers,' and 'Conscript Fathers,' i. 68. A hundred members from the Sabines added to their num-

ber, 82. Judges of all causes, till the Gracchi added an equal number of the equestrian order to the bench, v. 228.
Seneca, in his friendship for Otho, persuades Nero to send him into Lusitania, vi. 230.
Senecio. See *Sossius*.
† *Senones*, i. 378.
Sentius, the Roman governor of Macedon, iii. 246.
Septempagium, i. 92.
Septimius, who had served under Pompey, assists in the murther of that great man, iv. 227.
Septimuleius, connected with the consul Opimius, v. 241.
Sequani, iii. 150. iv. 381.
Serapion, a young man who played with Alexander at tennis, what he said to that prince, iv. 381.
Serapis, iv. 348, 352. His temple and oracle at Babylon, *ib.*
Serbonis, an Egyptian marsh, v. 428.
Sergius, the player, retainer to Antony, v. 434.
† *Seriphus*, i. 338, 339.
Serpent, the fable of it's tail quarrelling with it's head, iv. 133.
Serpents, said to be produced from the human marrow, v. 197.
SERTORIUS, Quintus, of a respectable family in the town of Nersia, and country of the Sabines, iv. 4. Lost his father when a child, *ib.* Had a liberal education given him by his mother Rhea, *ib.* Makes his first campaign under Cæpio, against the Cimbri and Teutones, *ib.* Swims the river Rhone in his armour, *ib.* Acts against the same enemy under Marius, and goes amongst them as a spy, *ib.* Goes in capacity of tribune under Didius into Spain, and takes up his winter-quarters in Castulo, 5. The barbarians attack the Romans there, and kill many of them, *ib.* Sertorius gets out of the town, collects some scattered soldiers, enters it again, and put the inhabitants to the sword, *ib.* Disguises his party in the clothes and arms of the barbarians, marches against the Gyriscenians, and cuts them off, *ib.* 6. He is appointed quæstor in the Cisalpine Gaul, where he is very active in the cause of Marius, 6. Stands for the office of tribune of the people, and loses it through the opposition of Sylla's faction, *ib.* Joins Cinna against Octavius, 7. Cinna is beaten in the Forum, and forced to quit Rome, *ib.* He and Sertorius collect fresh forces in Italy, *ib.* Marius returns to Italy, and offers to join Cinna, *ib.* Sertorius opposes it, till he is informed that Marius came upon the invitation of Cinna, *ib.* Remonstrates to Marius and Cinna against his savage proceedings after victory, 8. Destroys Marius' Bardiæans, *ib.* After the death of the elder Marius, finds the war against Sylla in Italy badly carried on, and retires into Spain, *ib.* 9. Pays toll to the barbarians for his passage over the Pyrenees, 9. His saying upon it, *ib.* Finding the Spaniards averse to the Roman government, he lowers the taxes, and excuses them from providing quarters for the soldiers, *ib.* Sends Julius Salinator to block up the passages of the Pyrenees, 10. Sails for Africa, but the Moors refuse to receive him, and he returns to the Spanish coast, *ib.*

Lands in the isle of Pityusa, *ib.* Prepares with some piratical vessels to fight Annius, but is prevented by a storm, *ib.* 11, Passes the streights of Gades, and lands in Bætica, 11. There meets with some mariners, who give him an account of the Atlantic or Fortunate islands, 11. He is desirous to go, and live there, 12. The Cilician pirates leave him, and go to restore Ascalis to the throne of Mauritania, *ib.* He supports the Moors against Ascalis, *ib.* Defeats and kills Paccianus, *ib.* Takes the city of Tingis, *ib.* The Lusitanians invite him to take the command among them, 13. The character of Sertorius, *ib.* 14. A little changed, in the later period of his life, by his misfortunes, 14. As general of the Lusitanians, reduces the native provinces, and numbers come over to him, *ib.* The great use he made of a white hind, which he pretends to be a gift from Diana, *ib.* 15. With a small force carries on the war against four Roman generals, 15, 16. Beats Cotta at sea, 16. Defeats Phidius in Bætica; Domitius and Lucius Manlius in the hither Spain; and kills Thoranius, who was sent against him by Metellus, 16. Reduces Metellus to such extremities, that he is forced to call in Lollius to his assistance from Gallia Narbonensis; and Pompey the Great is sent with another army from Rome, *ib.* Metellus marches against the Langobritæ, who having but one well in their city, Sertorius sends them two thousand skins filled with water, 18. Metellus despatches Aquilius to collect provisions; but Sertorius lays an ambush for him, and cuts off the convoy, 18. Sertorius arms and trains the Spaniards in the Roman manner, 19. Collects the children of the nobility from the several nations of Spain into the city of Osca, and gives them masters to instruct them in the Grecian and Roman literature, 19. Multitudes lay themselves under engagements, if Sertorius should fall in battle, to die with him, 20. Perpenna arrives in Spain, and his troops insist upon his joining Sertorius, *ib.* Sertorius applies to the senses of the Spaniards, by a symbol, recommending to them unanimity, perseverance, and obedience to their general, 21, 22. The means he took to subdue the Characitani, who dwelt in caves upon a mountain in all appearance impregnable, 22, 24. Takes the city of Lauron, though Pompey was come to its relief, and lay close by him, 24, 25. Beats Pompey in the battle of Sucro, 26. Loses his hind, but is happy enough to find her again, 27. Gives Metellus and Pompey battle on the plains of Saguntum, and is defeated, 28. Retires into a fortress, while his officers assemble fresh forces, *ib.* He cuts off the Roman convoys both by sea and land, 29. Metellus offers a great reward to any Roman who should take him, *ib.* His vanity upon an advantage gained of that general, *ib.* Forms a senate out of the patricians, who had taken refuge with him, 30. His passion to be restored to his country, *ib.* His extreme grief upon the news of the death of his mother, *ib.* 31. The greatness of his behaviour, and regard to the dignity of his country, in his treaty with Mithridates, 31. Sends him a general, named Marcus Marius,

32. Perpenna and others cabal against Sertorius, and cause some of the cities of Spain to revolt, *ib.* 33. Sertorius, exasperated at this, puts some of the children of the Spanish nobility to death, and sells others for slaves, 34. Perpenna draws Sertorius, by false pretences, to an entertainment in his tent, *ib.* The conspirators take that opportunity to despatch him, 35.

Servile war, iii. 457, 460. v. 55.

Servilia, sister to Cato of Utica, v. 48. Married to Lucullus, and divorced for infidelity to his bed, 73. Attends Cato in his expeditions, 102. Is left with her child at Rhodes, 103.

———, another sister of Cato of Utica, married to Silanus, v. 48, *n.* 70.

———, the mother of Brutus, debauched by Cæsar, vi. 61. Sends Cæsar a billet, which is delivered to him in the senate-house, *ib.* Cato insists that the billet is from the conspirators against the commonwealth, upon which Cæsar shows it him, *ib.*

Servilius, the augur, prosecuted by Lucullus for undue proceedings in his office, iii. 326. Acquitted, *ib.*

———— *Cæpio.* See *Cæpio.*

———— *Isauricus.* See *Isauricus.*

————, the prætor, sent by the senate to forbid Sylla's approaching Rome in arms, is treated by the soldiers with great indignity, iii. 243.

————, upon Pompey's refusing to flatter his soldiers, declares him truly great, and worthy of a triumph, iv. 141.

————, employed by Pompey to guard the Pontic sea, meets him at Colchis, iv. 169.

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† *Spaniards*, disciplined in the Roman manner, and a number of their children educated by order of Sertorius, iv. 18, 19. They devoted their lives for their generals, 20.

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† *Sparta*, the only city where riches had no influence, Plutus being there lame as well as blind, i. 126. The whole city, in the regularity which the inhabitants were obliged to observe, resembled one great camp, 149. Or the discipline under which some severe philosophers lay themselves, 159. Fortitude cultivated there more than justice, 154. Luxury enters it along with

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† *Spartans*, the privacy of their commerce with their brides, i. 134. The education of their children, 137. The chief end of their discipline, what, 138. Their beds, *ib.* Their thefts, 139. Whipped for want of dexterity, if discovered in their thefts, *ib.* The resolution of a young Spartan in suffering a fox which he had stolen to gnaw out his bowels, rather than he would be detected, 140. Their short sayings and sharp repartees, 141, 143. Their poetry and music, 144. Sacrifice to the Muses before a battle, 146. Nourish their hair and dress it elegantly, 147. Their diet better, and discipline less severe in time of war, *ib.* The method of electing their senators, 151, 152. The burials, and time of mourning, 153. Their ambuscade, a cruel way of lessening the number of the Helots, 154, 155. Applied to by the people of other countries for generals, 160. Their youth seasoned with an early desire of glory and dread of disgrace, iii. 189. See *Lacedæmonians.*

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† *Sphettus*, a borough of Attica, i. 14.

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to face danger, and it has it's effect, 254. Orders them to seize a difficult post sword in hand, *ib.* Archelaüs moves against Chæronea, and Sylla sends it succours, *ib.* Out of prodigious numbers of the enemy, only ten thousand reach Chalcis, while Sylla misses only fourteen men, 259. He inscribes his trophies to 'Mars, Victory, and Venus,' *ib.* Celebrates games at Thebes, 260. Takes from the Thebans their territories, *ib.* Marches to oppose Flaccus, but returns upon intelligence that Dorylaus had entered Bœotia, with Mithridates' best troops, *ib.* That general accuses Archelaüs of treachery; but after some slight skirmishes with Sylla, agrees with Archelaüs that the war ought to be protracted, *ib.* 261. Metella comes from Rome with an account that Cinna and Carbo, beside other outrages, had burnt Sylla's houses, 262. Archelaüs proposes a peace, 263. The conditions on which Sylla grants it, *ib.* 264. Mithridates demurs, and desires to be excused as to certain articles, 264. The rather, because Fimbria, who had killed the consul Flaccus, was marching against him, 265. But Sylla, who has an interview with him at Dardanus, obliges him to ratify the whole, 266. He reconciles Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes to him, *ib.* Mithridates delivers up to him seventy of his ships and five hundred archers, *ib.* Sylla marches against Fimbria, who was encamped at Thyatira, *ib.* Fimbria's troops go over to Sylla, and Fimbria kills himself, *ib.* Sylla lays a fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents, and compels the people to quarter his soldiers at a vast expense, *ib.* He sails to Athens, where he is initiated in the Mysteries of Ceres, 267. Carries thence the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, *ib.* Having something of the gout, he goes to the warm bath at Ædepsus, 267. Encourages the Alæans to rebuild their city, 268. Goes to Apollonia, where a satyr is brought to him from a place called Nymphæum, *ib.* Is afraid that his troops will disperse as soon as they reach Italy; but they voluntarily come, and take an oath to stand by him to the last, 269. Has to cope with fifteen generals in Italy, who have under them twenty-five legions, *ib.* Several presages of his being victorious, *ib.* He defeats young Marius, and Norbanus the consul, 270. Other predictions and presages, *ib.* Marcus Lucullus, one of Sylla's lieutenants, defeats the enemy with a very inferior force, *ib.* Sylla corrupts Scipio's soldiers, under pretence of treating of peace, 271. Beats Marius, now consul, and kills ten thousand men, with the loss only of twenty-three, 272. His lieutenants are every where victorious, *ib.* Sylla's last conflict is with Telesinus the Samnite, whom he overcomes with difficulty, *ib.* 273, 274. Sylla wears in all his battles a golden image of Apollo, 274. His address to it on this occasion, *ib.* The remains of the broken faction send deputies to him at Antemna, and he promises them impunity on certain conditions; but, after they had performed the conditions, destroys them in cold blood in the Circus at Rome, 275. The senate, which he is haranguing, listens with terror to their cries, *ib.* What he said upon it, *ib.* He fills the city with massacres,

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† *Syrians*, said to be descended from Syrus the son of Apollo, and the nymph Sinope, iii. 360.

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† *Thermodon*, a river of Pontus, iii. 345.
† ———, a small river near Chæronea, anciently so called, but afterward Hæmon, i. 36. v. 273.
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† *Thesea*, i. 6, 44.
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the labyrinth, 20. He kills the Minotaur, and carries off Ariadne and the young Athenians, *ib.* Other accounts of Theseus' expedition to Crete, *ib.*—23. He puts in at Delos, and sacrifices to Apollo, 23. Whence the annual deputation of the Athenians to Delos, *ib. n.* On his approach to Attica, forgets to hoist the white sail, 24. Ægeus throws himself from the rock, and is dashed to pieces, *ib.* Theseus sends a herald to Athens with an account of his safe return, *ib.* Enters the city with sorrow, but is received with great rejoicings, 25. The Oschophoria celebrated, in memory of that event, *ib.* The vessel, in which Theseus sailed, preserved to the time of Demetrius Phalereus, 26. A temple erected and sacrifices offered to Theseus, the care of which he commits to the Phytalidæ, 28. He settles all the inhabitants of Attica in Athens, *ib.* Erects a democracy, *ib.* Connects the citadel with the city. Institutes the Panathenæa and Metœcia, 29. Invites all strangers to equal privileges in Athens, 30. Distinguishes the people into noblemen, husbandmen, and mechanics, *ib.* Is the first, who inclined to a popular government, *ib.* Gives the impression of an ox to the Athenian money, *ib.* Adds Megara to the territory of Athens, 31. Sets up a pillar in the Isthmus, as a mark of distinction between Peloponnesus and Ionia, *ib.* Institutes the Isthmian games in honour of Neptune, *ib.* Makes war upon the Amazons, and receives Antiope as the reward of his valour, 32. One of his companions, named Soloön, falls in love with Antiope, and drowns himself in consequence of his hopeless passion, 33. Theseus calls the river after his name, and builds a city, which he names Pythopolis, *ib.* The Amazons cross the Cimmerian Bosporus upon the ice, and march to Athens, 34. Theseus sacrifices to Fear, before he engages them, *ib.* Has by the Amazon a son named Hippolytus, or according to Pindar, Demophoön, 36. Marries Phædra after the death of Antiope, *ib.* His other marriages and amours, *ib.* 37. He assists the Lapithæ against the Centaurs, 37. And Adrastus, in recovering the bodies of those that fell before Thebes, *ib.* The friendship between him and Pirithoüs, 38. On occasion of his friend's marriage, he goes with him into the country of the Lapithæ, and joins them against the Centaurs, *ib.* Procures Hercules' admission to the Mysteries of Ceres, 39. Carries off Helen, when he was fifty years old, 39. He, and his friend Pirithoüs, are pursued as far as Tegea, 40. He places Helen at Aphidnæ, under the inspection of his mother, *ib.* Goes with Pirithoüs into Epirus, to fetch off the daughter of Aïdoneus, *ib.* Pirithoüs is destroyed by Aïdoneus' dog Cerberus, and Theseus is imprisoned, *ib.* Meantime, Menestheus excites a sedition in Athens, *ib.* 41. Academus informs them, where Helen was concealed, *ib.* The Academy always spared by the Lacedæmonians for his sake, *ib.* The Tyndaridæ beat their adversaries in a set battle, and demolish Aphidnæ, *ib.* Æthra, the mother of Theseus, is carried to Lacedæmon, and thence with Helen to Troy, 43. Theseus is released by Aïdoneus, at

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† *Thespiæ*, ii. 358. iii. 225. iv. 102. v. 404.

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† *Thesprotians*, iii. 65.

† *Thessaly*, traversed by the Amazons, i. 36, 43, 50. iv. 412. v. 401.

† *Thessalonica*, v. 58.

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Thoranius, lieutenant to Metellus, sent against Sertorius, and killed by that general, iv. 16.

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† *Thrace*, i. 17. ii. 19. iii. 297, 313.

† *Thracia*, village of, iii. 338.
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Thrasyllus, an Athenian general, his troops despised by those of Alcibiades, for the defeat which Pharnabazus had given them near Ephesus, ii. 157. Afterward victorious in conjunction with Alcibiades, *ib.*
† *Thrasymenus*. See *Thrasymenian* lake.
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† *Thriasia*, i. 334. iv. 101.
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† *Thurii*, a city in Italy, built by Dionysius Chalcus, iii. 404. Colonised by Pericles, ii. 20.
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† *Thurium*, ii. 251. iii. 256. v. 286.
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† *Tigranocerta*, iii. 363, 365, 369.

† *Tigris*, river, iii. 362.

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259. Timoleon collects a much greater number, *ib.* Divides the lands among them *gratis*, but sells the houses for a thousand talents, which becomes a supply for the public treasury, exhausted by the war, *ib.* Delivers the other cities from the tyrants, 260. Reduces Icetes to a private station, *ib.* Leptines, prince of Apollonia, is also deposed, and sent to Corinth, *ib.* Timoleon, assisted by commissioners from Corinth, gives the Syracusans a body of laws, *ib.* Sends his lieutenants to ravage the Carthaginian province, *ib.* 261. Asdrubal and Hamilcar march in great fury against the Corinthians, 261. Timoleon meets them near the banks of the Crimesus, with a handful of men, *ib.* Dexterously turns an imagined ill omen into a sign of victory, 262. Another good presage, *ib.* He and his troops have a distinct view of the enemy, before they are seen themselves, 263. He attacks them, as they are passing the river, *ib.* A thunder-storm befriends the Greeks, 264. Timoleon, with the news of the victory, transmits the handsomest of the Carthaginian arms to Corinth, 266. At his return to Syracuse, he banishes the thousand mercenaries who had deserted him before the battle, *ib.* Mamercus and Icetes revolt, and call the Carthaginians in again, who send another army under Gisco, *ib.* The confederates gain some advantages against Timoleon; but he loses only the mercenaries, 267. While he is besieging Calauria, Icetes makes an inroad into the Syracusan territories, and in his return insults Timoleon himself, 268. The latter lets him pass, but pursues and defeats him, on the banks of the river Damyrias or Lamyrias, *ib.* 269. Takes him alive at Leontium, and puts him to death, together with his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus, his general of horse, *ib.* Suffers the Syracusans to destroy the women of Icetes' family, 270. Mamercus of Catana, and Hippo of Messena, are also reduced, and capitally punished, 271. The Carthiginians conclude a peace with him, *ib.* Agrigentum and Gela are now repeopled, *ib.* He is happy in the affections of the Sicilians; in the ease and elegance which attend all his actions; and in the perpetual favour of fortune, 272, 273. Spends the remainder of his life among the Syracusans, and enjoys the blessings he had procured, 274. His answers on his being attacked by two demagogues, *ib.* In his old age he loses his sight, 275. Is consulted, notwithstanding, on all important points, and in every respect treated with great honour by the Syracusans, 276. His easy death and magnificent funeral, *ib.* 277. His memory celebrated with annual games, 277. A palæstra is erected around his monument, *ib.* The Syracusans happy in his laws for a long course of years, 278.

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